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I N D I A

In the MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

Being Part II

of the

Oxford History of India

by

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OXFORD

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FROM THE PREFACE

controlling mind so severely that their gain in erudition is apt to be outweighed by their dullness. . . .

The spelling of Asiatic words and names follows the principle observed in my work on Akbar, with, perhaps, a slight further indulgence in popular literary forms. The only diacritical mark used as a general rule is that placed over long vowels, and intended as a guide to the approximate pronunciation. Consonants are to be pronounced as in English. Vowels usually have the Italian sounds, so that *Mir* is to be read as 'Meer' and *Mūl*- as 'Mool-'. Short *a* with stress is pronounced like *u* in 'but', and when without stress as an indistinct vowel like the *A* in 'America'. The name *Akbar* consequently is pronounced 'Ukbur' or 'Ukber'. No simpler system is practicable, for we cannot revert to the barbarisms of the old books.

Much research and care have been devoted to the collection and reproduction of the numerous illustrations.

My acknowledgements are due to the Secretary of State for India for general liberty to use illustrations in official publications. . . . A few coins have been copied from the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, by permission.

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NOTE.—As the book probably will be used in colleges, it seems well to say that the two sections of the Introduction are not intended for junior students, who may leave them unread.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- A. C.—After Christ.
 A. D.—Anno Domini.
 A. H.—Anno Hijrae (Hegirae).¹
Ain.—*Ain-i Akbari*, by Abu-I Fazl, transl. Blochmann and Jarrett.
 A. S.—Archaeological Survey.
 A. S. B.—Asiatic Society of Bengal.
 A. S. W. I.—Archaeological Survey of Western India.
 B. C.—Before Christ.
 B. M.—British Museum.
 E. & D.—*The History of India as told by its own Historians*, by Sir H. M. Elliot and Professor John Dowson, 8 vols., 1867-77.
 E. I. Co.—East India Company.
Ep. Ind.—*Epigraphia Indica*, Calcutta, in progress.
H. F. A.—*A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, by Vincent A. Smith (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1911).
I. G.—*Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1907, 1908).
 I. M.—Indian Museum.
Ind. Ant.—*Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, 1872 to date.
 I. O.—India Office, London.
J. A. S. B.—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.—*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
J. H. A. S.—*Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*.
J. P. H. S.—*Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*.
J. R. A. S.—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.
Prog. (Progr.) Rep.—*Progress Report*.
 R. A. S.—Royal Asiatic Society.
 R. I.—Rulers of India Series.

NOTE.—An index number above the title of a book indicates the edition; e.g., *Annals of Rural Bengal*⁷ means the 7th edition of that work.

¹ The word *hijra* is rendered by 'withdrawal' more precisely than by 'flight', the equivalent usually given.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

THE relevant entries in the list of Additions and Corrections printed in the first edition of the whole work have now been incorporated with the text and notes.

The opportunity has been taken by the author to rectify sundry minute slips or errors, and to insert a few additional references. The principal corrections of matters of fact will be found on pages cvi *note* ; 225 (Kuth Mīnār) ; 267, *note* 2 ; 289, l. 36 and *note* ; 307, last two lines ; 334, fifth line from bottom ; 339, foundation of Madras and Aungier's tomb ; 407, l. 10 ; 408, l. 12, and Index ; 439, *note*, first para. ; 452, last line of text ; and 466, new note. In one passage three or four words have been changed.

INTRODUCTION

SECTION 1

The geographical foundation ; diversity in unity and unity in diversity ; the scenes and periods of the story ; sea-power ; forms of government ; the history of thought.

The geographical unit. The India of this book is almost exclusively the geographical unit called by that name on the ordinary maps, bounded on the north, north-west, and north-east by mountain ranges, and elsewhere by the sea. The extensive Burmese territories, although now governed as part of the Indian empire, cannot be described as being part of India. Burma has a separate history, rarely touching on that of India prior to the nineteenth century. Similarly, Ceylon, although geologically a fragment detached from the peninsula in relatively recent times, always has had a distinct political existence, requiring separate historical treatment. The island is not now included in the Indian empire, and its affairs will not be discussed in this work, except incidentally. Certain portions of Balôchistan now administered or controlled by the Indian Government lie beyond the limits of the geographical unit called India. Aden and sundry other outlying dependencies of the Indian empire obviously are not parts of India, and the happenings in those places rarely demand notice.

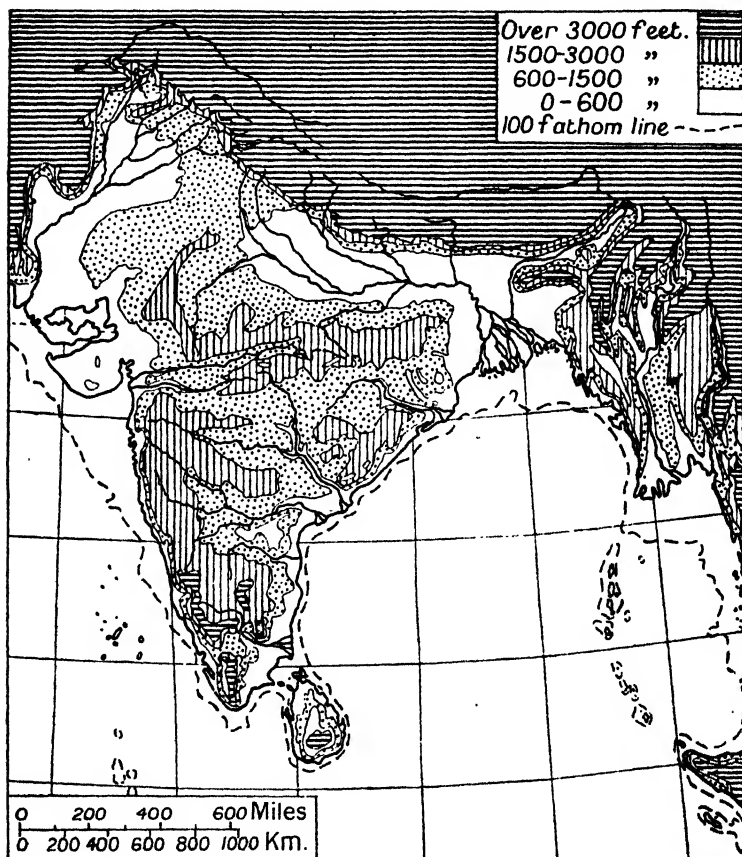
Vast extent of area. Formal, technical descriptions of the geographical and physical features of India may be found in many easily accessible books, and need not be reproduced here. But certain geographical facts with a direct bearing on the history require brief comment, because, as Richard Hakluyt truly observed long ago, 'Geographie and Chronologie are the Sunne and the Moone, the right eye and the left eye of all history.' The large extent of the area of India, which may be correctly designated as a sub-continent, is a material geographical fact. The history of a region so vast, bounded by a coast-line of about 3,400 miles, more or less, and a mountain barrier on the north some 1,600 miles in length, and inhabited by a population numbering nearly 800 millions, necessarily must be long and intricate. The detailed treatment suitable to the story of a small country cannot be applied in a general history of India. The author of such a book must be content to sketch his picture in outlines boldly drawn, and to leave out multitudes of recorded particulars.

Continental and peninsular regions. Another geographical fact, namely, that India comprises both a large continental, sub-tropical area, and an approximately equal peninsular, tropical area, has had immense influence upon the history.

Three territorial compartments. Geographical conditions

INTRODUCTION

divided Indian history, until the nineteenth century, into three well-marked territorial compartments, not to mention minor distinct areas, such as the Konkan, the Himalayan region, and others. The three are : (1) the northern plains forming the basins of the



INDIA PHYSICAL.

Indus and Ganges ; (2) the Deccan plateau lying to the south of the Nerbada, and to the north of the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers ; and (3) the far south, beyond those rivers, comprising the group of Tamil states. Ordinarily, each of those three geographical compartments has had a distinct, highly complex story of

its own. The points of contact between the three histories are not very numerous.

Dominance of the north. The northern plains, the Āryāvarta of the old books, and the Hindostan of more recent times, always have been the seat of the principal empires and the scene of the events most interesting to the outer world. The wide waterways of the great snow-fed rivers and the fertile level plains are natural advantages which have inevitably attracted a teeming population from time immemorial. The open nature of the country, easily accessible to martial invaders from the north-west, has given frequent occasion for the formation of powerful kingdoms ruled by vigorous foreigners. The peninsular, tropical section of India, isolated from the rest of the world by its position, and in contact with other countries only by sea-borne commerce, has pursued its own course, little noticed by and caring little for foreigners. The historian of India is bound by the nature of things to direct his attention primarily to the north, and is able to give only a secondary place to the story of the Deccan plateau and the far south.

No southern power ever could attempt to master the north, but the more ambitious rulers of Āryāvarta or Hindostan often have extended their sway far beyond the dividing line of the Narbadā. When Dupleix in the eighteenth century dreamed of a Franco-Indian empire with its base in the peninsula he was bound to fail. The success of the English was dependent on their acquisition of rich Bengal and their command of the Gangetic waterway. In a later stage of the British advance the conquest of the Panjāb was conditioned by the control of the Indus navigation, previously secured by the rather unscrupulous proceedings of Lords Auckland and Ellenborough. The rivers of the peninsula do not offer similar facilities for penetration of the interior.

Changes in rivers. The foregoing general observations indicate broadly the ways in which the geographical position and configuration of India have affected the course of her history. But the subject will bear a little more elaboration and the discussion of certain less conspicuous illustrations of the bearing of geography upon history. Let us consider for a moment the changes in the great rivers of India, which, when seen in full flood, suggest thoughts of the ocean rather than of inland streams. Unless one has battled in an open ferry-boat with one of those mighty masses of surging water in the height of the rains, it is difficult to realize their demoniac power. They cut and carve the soft alluvial plains at their will, recking of nothing. Old beds of the Sutlaj can be traced across a space eighty-five miles wide. The Indus, the Ganges, the Kosi, the Brahmaputra, and scores of other rivers behave, each according to its ability, in the same way, despising all barriers, natural or artificial. Who can tell where the Indus flowed in the days of Alexander the Great? Yet books, professedly learned, are not afraid to trace his course minutely through the Panjāb and Sind by the help of some modern map, and to offer pretended identifications of sites upon the banks of rivers which certainly

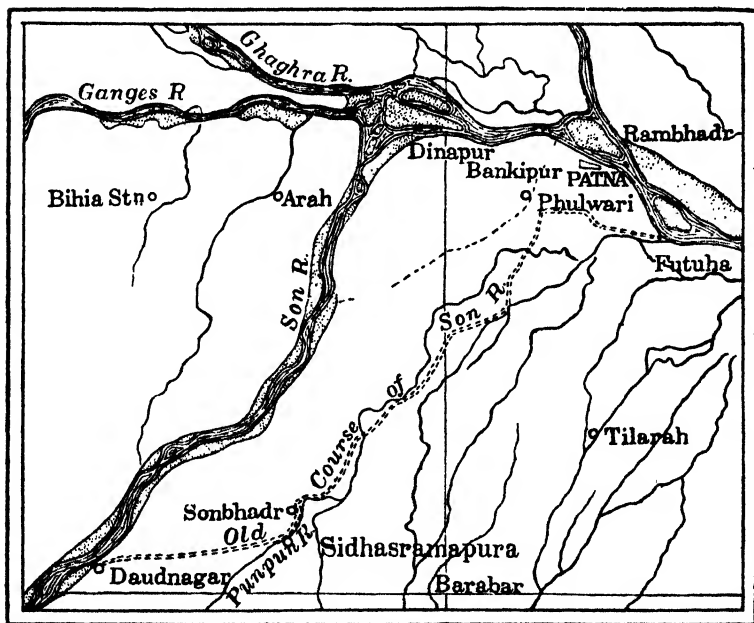
were somewhere else twenty-two centuries ago. We know that they must have been somewhere else, but where they were no man can tell. So with the Vedic rivers, several of which bear the ancient names. The rivers of the Rishis were not the rivers of to-day. The descriptions prove that in the old, old days their character often differed completely from what it now is, and experience teaches that their courses must have been widely divergent. Commentators in their arm-chairs with the latest edition of the Indian *Atlas* opened out before them are not always willing to be bothered with such inconvenient facts. Ever since the early Muhammadan invasions the changes in the rivers have been enormous, and the contemporary histories of the foreign conquerors cannot be understood unless the reality and extent of those changes be borne constantly in mind. One huge river-system, based on the extinct Hakrā or Wahindah river, which once flowed down from the mountains through Bahāwalpur, has wholly disappeared, the final stages having been deferred until the eighteenth century. Scores of mounds, silent witnesses to the existence of numberless forgotten and often nameless towns, bear testimony to the desolation wrought when the waters of life desert their channels. A large and fascinating volume might be devoted to the study and description of the freaks of Indian rivers.

Position of cities. In connexion with that topic another point may be mentioned. The founders of the more important old cities almost invariably built, if possible, on the bank of a river, and not only that, but between two rivers in the triangle above the confluence. Dozens of examples might be cited, but one must suffice. The ancient imperial capital, Pātaliputra, represented by the modern Patna, occupied such a secure position between the guarding waters of the Sōn and the Ganges. The existing city, twelve milēs or so below the confluence, has lost the strategical advantages of its predecessor. Historians who forget the position of Pātaliputra in relation to the rivers go hopelessly wrong in their comments on the texts of the ancient Indian and foreign authors.

Changes of the land. Changes in the coast-line and the level of the land have greatly modified the course of history, and must be remembered by the historian who desires to avoid ludicrous blunders. The story of the voyage of Nearchos, for instance, cannot be properly appreciated by any student who fails to compare the descriptions recorded by the Greeks with the surveys of modern geographers. When the changes in the coast-line are understood, statements of the old authors which looked erroneous at first sight are found to be correct. The utter destruction of the once wealthy commercial cities of Korkai and Kāyal on the Tinnevely coast, now miles from the sea and buried under sand dunes, ceases to be a mystery when we know, as we do, that the coast level has risen. In other localities, some not very distant from the places named, the converse has happened, and the sea has advanced, or, in other words, the land has sunk. The careful investigator of ancient history needs to be continually on his guard

against the insidious deceptions of the modern map. Many learned professors, German and others, have tumbled headlong into the pit. The subject being a hobby of mine I must not ride the steed too far.

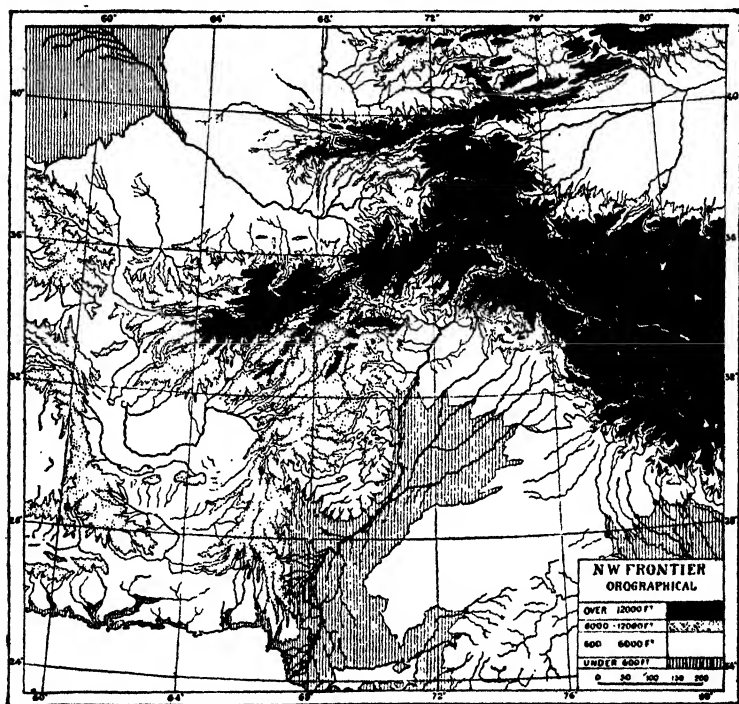
The scenes of Indian history. Emphasis has been laid on the fact that most of the notable events of Indian history occurred in one or other of the three great regions separated from each other by natural barriers. Hindostan, the Deccan, and the far



CHANGED COURSE OF SŌN.

south continued to be thus kept apart until the rapid progress of scientific discovery during the nineteenth century overthrew the boundaries set by nature. The mighty Indus and Ganges are now spanned by railway bridges as securely as a petty water-course is crossed by a six-foot culvert. The No Man's Land of Gondwāna—the wild country along the banks of the Narbadā and among the neighbouring hills—no longer hides any secrets. Roads and railways climb the steepest passes of the Western Ghāts, which more than once tried the nerves of our soldiers in the old wars. The magnificent natural haven of Bombay always was as good as it is now, but it was of no use to anybody as long as it was cut off from the interior of India by creeks, swamps, and

mountains. The changes in modern conditions, which it would be tedious to enumerate, have made Bombay the premier city of India. Royal command may decree that the official head-quarters of the Government of India should shift from Calcutta to Delhi, but no proclamations can make the inland city of the Moguls the real capital of India, so long as the Indian empire is ruled by the masters of the sea. The claim to the first place may be disputed



NORTH-WESTERN PHYSICAL FEATURES.

between Calcutta and Bombay. No rival can share in the competition.

Fortresses. The progress of modern science has not only destroyed the political and strategical value of the natural barriers offered by mountains, rivers, and forests. It has also rendered useless the ancient fortresses, which used to be considered impregnable, and were more often won by bribery than by assault. Asirgarh in Khândesh, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was reckoned to be one of the wonders of the world, so

that it was 'impossible to conceive a stronger fortress', defied the arms of Akbar, yielding only to his gold. Now it stands desolate, without a single soldier to guard it. When Lord Dufferin decided to pay Sindia the compliment of restoring Gwālior Fort to his keeping, the transfer could be effected without the slightest danger to the safety of the Empire. The numberless strongholds on the tops of the hills of the Deccan before which Aurangzēb wasted so



NORTH-WESTERN PASSES AND COUNTRIES.

many years are now open to any sightseer. The strategical points which dominated the military action of the Hindu and Muhammadan sovereigns are for the most part of no account in these days. The sieges of fortresses which occupy so large a space in the earlier history will never occur again. Modern generals think much more of a railway junction than of the most inaccessible castle.

The northern record. One reason why the historian must devote most of his space to the narrative of events occurring in northern India has been mentioned. Another is that the northern

record is far less imperfect than that of the peninsula. Very little is known definitely concerning the southern kingdoms before A. D. 600, whereas the history of Hindostan may be carried back twelve centuries earlier. The extreme deficiency of really ancient records concerning the peninsula leaves an immense gap in the history of India which cannot be filled.

Sea-power. The arrival of Vasco da Gama's three little ships at Calicut in 1498 revolutionized Indian history by opening up the country to bold adventurers coming by sea. The earlier maritime visitors to the coasts had come solely for purposes of commerce without any thought of occupation or conquest. It is needless here to recall how the Portuguese pointed out to their successors, Dutch, French, and English, the path of conquest, and so made possible the British empire of India. The country now is at the mercy of the power which commands the sea, and could not possibly be held by any power unable to control the sea routes. The strategical importance of the north-western passes has declined as that of Bombay and Karāchī has risen.

Endless diversity. The endless diversity in the Indian sub-continent is apparent and has been the subject of many trite remarks. From the physical point of view we find every extreme of altitude, temperature, rainfall, and all the elements of climate. The variety of the flora and fauna, largely dependent upon climatic conditions, is equally obvious. From the human point of view India has been often described as an ethnological museum, in which numberless races of mankind may be studied, ranging from savages of low degree to polished philosophers. That variety of races, languages, manners and customs is largely the cause of the innumerable political subdivisions which characterize Indian history before the unification effected by the British supremacy. Megasthenes in the fourth century B.C. heard of 118 kingdoms, and the actual number may well have been more. Even now the Native or Protected States, small and great, may be reckoned as about 700. In all ages the crowd of principalities and powers has been almost past counting. From time to time a strong paramount power has arisen and succeeded for a few years in introducing a certain amount of political unity, but such occasions were rare. When no such power existed, the states, hundreds in number, might be likened to a swarm of free, mutually repellent molecules in a state of incessant movement, now flying apart, and again coalescing.

Unity in diversity. How then, in the face of such bewildering diversity, can a history of India be written and compressed into a single volume of moderate bulk? The difficulties arising from the manifold diversities summarily indicated above are real, and present serious obstacles both to the writer and to the reader of Indian history. A chronicle of all the kingdoms for thousands of years is manifestly impracticable. The answer to the query is found in the fact that India offers unity in diversity. The underlying unity being less obvious than the superficial diversity, its

nature and limitations merit exposition. The mere fact that the name India conveniently designates a sub-continental area does not help to unify history any more than the existence of the name Asia could make a history of that continent feasible. The unity sought must be of a nature more fundamental than that implied in the currency of a geographical term.

Political union. Political union attained by the subjection of all India to one monarch or paramount authority would, of course, be sufficient to make smooth the path of the historian. Such political union never was enjoyed by all India until the full establishment of the British sovereignty, which may be dated in one sense so recently as 1877, when Queen Victoria became Empress of India; in another sense from 1858, when Her Majesty assumed the direct government of British India; and in a third sense from 1818, when the Marquess of Hastings shattered the Marāthā power, and openly proclaimed the fact that the East India Company had become the paramount authority throughout the whole country. Very few rulers, Hindu or Muhammadan, attained sovereignty even as extensive as that claimed by the Marquess of Hastings. The Mauryas, who after the defeat of Seleukos Nikator held the country now called Afghanistan as far as the Hindu Kush, exercised authority more or less direct over all India Proper down to the northern parts of Mysore. But even Asoka did not attempt to bring the Tamil kingdoms under his dominion. The empires of the Kushāns and Guptas were confined to the north. In the fourteenth century Muhammad bin Tughlak for a few years exercised imperfect sovereign powers over very nearly the whole of India. Akbar and his historians never mention the Tamil states, and so far as appears never heard of the powerful Hindu empire of Vijayanagar, which broke up in 1565. But the Great Mogul cherished a passionate desire to subdue the kingdoms of the Deccan plateau. His success, however, was incomplete, and did not extend beyond Ahmadnagar in the latitude of Bombay. His descendants pursued his policy, and at the close of the eighteenth century Aurangzēb's officers levied tribute two or three times from Tanjore and Trichinopoly. Thus Aurangzēb might be regarded as being in a very loose sense the suzerain of almost all India. The Kābul territory continued to be part of the empire until 1739. The periods of partial political unification thus summarily indicated afford welcome footholds to the historian, and are far easier to deal with than the much longer intervals when no power with any serious claim to paramountcy existed.

The political unity of all India, although never attained perfectly in fact, always was the ideal of the people throughout the centuries. The conception of the universal sovereign as the Chakravartin Rājā runs through Sanskrit literature and is emphasized in scores of inscriptions. The story of the gathering of the nations to the battle of Kurukshetra, as told in the *Mahābhārata*, implies the belief that all the Indian peoples, including those of the extreme south, were united by real bonds and concerned in

interests common to all. European writers, as a rule, have been more conscious of the diversity than of the unity of India. Joseph Cunningham, an author of unusually independent spirit, is an exception. When describing the Sikh fears of British aggression in 1845, he recorded the acute and true observation that 'Hindustan, moreover, from Caubul to the valley of Assam, and the island of Ceylon, is regarded as one country, and dominion in it is associated in the minds of the people with the predominance of one monarch or one race'.¹ India therefore possesses, and always has possessed for considerably more than two thousand years, ideal political unity, in spite of the fact that actual complete union under one sovereign, universally acknowledged by all other princes and potentates, dates only from 1877. The immemorial persistence of that ideal goes a long way to explain the acquiescence of India in British rule, and was at the bottom of the passionate outburst of loyal devotion to their King-Emperor so touchingly expressed in many ways by princes and people in 1911.

Fundamental unity of Hinduism. The most essentially fundamental Indian unity rests upon the fact that the diverse peoples of India have developed a peculiar type of culture or civilization utterly different from any other type in the world. That civilization may be summed up in the term Hinduism. India primarily is a Hindu country, the land of the Brahmans, who have succeeded by means of peaceful penetration, not by the sword, in carrying their ideas into every corner of India. Caste, the characteristic Brahman institution, utterly unknown in Burma, Tibet, and other border lands, dominates the whole of Hindu India, and exercises no small influence over the powerful Muhammadan minority. Nearly all Hindus reverence Brahmans,² and all may be said to venerate the cow. Few deny the authority of the Vedas and the other ancient scriptures. Sanskrit everywhere is the sacred language. The great gods, Vishnu and Siva, are recognized and more or less worshipped in all parts of India. The pious pilgrim, when going the round of the holy places, is equally at home among the snows of Badrināth or on the burning sands of Rāma's Bridge. The seven sacred cities include places in the far south as well as in Hindostan. Similarly, the cult of rivers is common to all Hindus, and all alike share in the affection felt for the tales of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana*.

India beyond all doubt possesses a deep underlying fundamental unity, far more profound than that produced either by geographical isolation or by political suzerainty. That unity transcends the innumerable diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manners, and sect.

Limitations of unity. But the limitations are many. Caste, which, looked at broadly, unites all Hindus by differentiating them from the rest of mankind, disintegrates them by breaking

¹ *History of the Sikhs*¹ (1853), p. 283.

² The Lingāyats of the Kanarese country are the principal exception, but others exist.

them up into thousands of mutually exclusive and often hostile sections. It renders combined political or social action difficult, and in many cases impossible; while it shuts off all Hindus in large measure from sympathy with the numerous non-Hindu population. The Muhammadans, by far the largest part of that population, are not concerned with most of the reasons which make all Hindus one in a sense. An Indian Muslim may be, and often is, far more in sympathy with an Arab or Persian fellow-believer than he is with his Hindu neighbour. The smaller communities, Christians, Jews, Parsees, and others, are still more distant from the Hindu point of view.

Nevertheless, when all allowances are made for the limitations, the fundamental unity of Hindu culture alone makes a general history of India feasible.

Dravidian culture. The Brahmanical ideas and institutions, although universally diffused in every province, have not been wholly victorious. Prehistoric forms of worship and many utterly un-Aryan social practices survive, especially in the peninsula among the peoples speaking Dravidian languages. We see there the strange spectacle of an exaggerated regard for caste coexisting with all sorts of weird notions and customs alien to Brahman tradition. While it is not improbable that the Dravidian civilization may be as old as or even older than the Indo-Aryan Brahmanical culture of the north, which was long regarded in the south as an unwelcome intruder to be resisted strenuously, the materials available for the study of early Dravidian institutions are too scanty and imperfectly explored to permit of history being based upon them. The historian's attention necessarily must be directed chiefly to the Indo-Aryan institutions of the north, which are much more fully recorded than those of the south. An enthusiastic southern scholar has expressed the opinion that 'the scientific historian of India . . . ought to begin his study with the basin of the Krishnā, of the Cauvery, of the Vaigai [in Madura and the Pāndya country] rather than with the Gangetic plain, as it has been now long, too long, the fashion'. That advice, however sound it may be in principle, could not be followed in practice at present; and, so far as I can see, it is not likely that even in a distant future it will be practicable to begin writing Indian history in the manner suggested.

Lack of political evolution. The interest attaching to the gradual evolution of political institutions is lacking in Indian history. The early tribal constitutions of a republican, or at any rate, oligarchical character, which are known to have existed among the Mālavas, Kshudrakas, and other nations in the time of Alexander the Great, as well as among the Lichchhavis and Yaudhēyas at much later dates, all perished without leaving a trace. Autocracy is substantially the only form of government with which the historian of India is concerned. Despotism does not admit of development. Individual monarchs vary infinitely in ability and character, but the nature of a despotic government

remains much the same at all times and in all places, whether the ruler be a saint or a tyrant.

Extinction of tribal constitutions. The reason for the extinction of the tribal constitutions appears to be that they were a Mongolian institution, the term Mongolian being used to mean tribes racially allied to the Tibetans, Gürkhas, and other Himalayan nations. The Mongolian element in the population of northern India before and after the Christian era was, I believe, much larger than is usually admitted. When the Mongolian people and ideas were overborne in course of time by the strangers who followed the Indo-Aryan or Brahmanical cult and customs, the tribal constitutions disappeared along with many other non-Aryan institutions. The Brahmanical people always were content with autocracy.¹ I use the term 'autocracy' or the equivalent 'despotism' without qualification intentionally, because I do not believe in the theory advocated by several modern Hindu authors that the ancient Indian king was a 'limited' or constitutional monarch. Those authors have been misled by taking too seriously the admonitions of the text-book writers that the ideal king should be endowed with all the virtues and should follow the advice of sage counsellors. In reality every Indian despot who was strong enough did exactly what he pleased. If any limitations on his authority were operative, they took effect only because he was weak. A strong sovereign like Chandragupta Maurya was not to be bound by the cobwebs of texts. Long afterwards, Akbar, notwithstanding his taste for sententious moral aphorisms, was equally self-willed.

Village and municipal institutions. Much sentimental rhetoric with little relation to the actual facts has been written about the supposed indestructible constitution of the Indo-Aryan village in the north. The student of highly developed village institutions, involving real local self-government administered on an elaborately organized system, should turn to the south and examine the constitution of the villages in the Chola kingdom as recorded for the period from the tenth to the twelfth centuries of the Christian era, and no doubt of extremely ancient origin.² Those institutions, like the tribal constitutions of the north, perished long ago, being killed by rulers who had no respect for the old indigenous modes of administration. The development of municipal institutions, which furnishes material for so many interesting chapters in European history, is a blank page in the history of India.

History of Indian thought. The defects in the subject-matter of Indian history pointed out in the foregoing observa-

¹ On this obscure subject see the author's papers entitled 'Tibetan Affinities of the Lichchhavis' (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxii (1903), pp. 238 foll.; and 'Tibetan Illustration of the Yaudhēya Tribal Organization' (*ibid.*, vol. xxxv (1906)), p. 290); and K. P. Jayaswal, 'Republics in the Mahābhārata' (*J. O. & B. Res. Soc.*, vol. i, pp. 173-8). A well-executed treatise on the subject would be welcome.

² *E. H. I.* (1914), pp. 459, 464, with references.

tions undoubtedly tend to make the political history of the country rather dry reading. The more attractive story of the development of Indian thought as expressed in religion and philosophy, literature, art, and science cannot be written intelligibly unless it is built on the solid foundation of dynastic history, which alone can furnish the indispensable chronological basis. Readers who may be disposed to turn away with weariness from the endless procession of kingdoms and despots may console themselves by the reflection that a working acquaintance with the political history of India is absolutely essential as a preliminary for the satisfactory treatment of the story of the development of her ideas.

I have tried to give in this work, so far as unavoidable limitations permit, an outline of the evolution of Indian thought in various fields. Students who desire further information must consult special treatises when such exist.

Divisions of the history. The main divisions of a book on Indian history hardly admit of variation. I have drawn the line between the Ancient Period and the Hindu Period at the beginning of the Maurya dynasty as a matter of convenience. In the Hindu Period the death of Harsha in A. D. 647 marks a suitable place for beginning a fresh section. The subdivisions of the Muhammadan Period, occupying Books IV, V, VI, and including the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar, are almost equally self-evident. Three books, VII, VIII, and IX, are devoted to the British Period. The dividing line between Books VII and VIII should be drawn in my opinion at the year 1818, and not at the close of the administration of the Marquess of Hastings. The significance of the events of 1858, when the series of Viceroys begins, cannot be mistaken.

AUTHORITIES

The subject-matter of this section has been treated previously by the author in several publications, namely, in *E. H. I.*³ (1914), Introduction ; *Oxford Student's History of India*, latest ed., chap. i ; and the *Oxford Survey of the British Empire* (1914), chap. vii. A good formal geographical book is the *Geography of India* by G. PATTERSON (*Christian Literature Soc. for India*, London, 1909). See also *I. G.* (Indian Empire), 1907, vol. i, and the Atlas of the same work (1909). The little book entitled *The Fundamental Unity of India* (Longmans, 1914), by Prof. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI is well written, learned, and accurate, notwithstanding its avowed political purpose. The influence of sea-power upon Indian history is expounded by Sir A. LYALL in *The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India* (Murray, 1910).

SECTION 2

The Sources, or the Original Authorities.

Undated history before 650 B.C. A body of history strictly so-called must be built upon a skeleton of chronology, that is to say, on a series of dates more or less precise. In India, as in Greece, such a series begins about the middle or close of the seventh century before Christ.¹ Nothing approaching exact chronology being attainable for earlier times, the account which the historian can offer of those times necessarily is wanting in definiteness and precision. It is often difficult to determine even the sequence or successive order of events. Nevertheless, no historian of India and the Indians can escape from the obligation of offering some sort of picture of the life of undated ancient India, in its political, social, religious, literary, and artistic aspects, previous to the dawn of exact history. The early literature, composed chiefly in the Sanskrit, Pāli, and Tamil languages, supplies abundant material, much of which is accessible in one or other European tongue. The thorough exploration of the gigantic mass of literature, especially that of the southern books, is a task so vast that it cannot ever be completed. Large fields of study have been hardly investigated at all. But a great deal of good work has been accomplished, and the labours of innumerable scholars, European, American, and Indian have won results sufficiently certain to warrant the drawing of an outline sketch of the beginnings of Indian life and history. Although the lines of the sketch are somewhat wanting in clearness, especially with reference to the Vedic age and the early Dravidian civilization, we moderns can form a tolerably distinct mental picture of several stages of Indian history prior to the earliest date ascertained with even approximate accuracy. Such an outline sketch or picture will be presented in the second chapter of Book I.

Chronological puzzles. Definite chronological history begins about 650 B. C. for Northern India. No positive historical statement can be made concerning the peninsula until a date much later. Even in the north all approximate dates before the invasion of Alexander in 326 B. C. are obtained only by reasoning back from the known to the unknown. The earliest absolutely certain precise date is that just named, 326 B. C.

The student may be glad to have in this place a brief exposition of the special difficulties which lie in the way of ascertaining precise

¹ 'The first exact date we have bearing on the history of Greece' is April 6, 648 B. C., when an eclipse of the sun occurred which was witnessed and noted by the poet Archilochus (Bury, *Hist. of Greece*, ed. 1904, p. 119). But the earliest really historical date known with any approach to accuracy seems to be that of Cylon's conspiracy at Athens, which is placed about 682 B. C. The archonship of Solon is put in either 594-593 or 592-591 B. C. (*ibid.*, pp. 178, 182).

dates for the events of early Hindu history. Numerous dates are recorded in one fashion or another, but the various authorities are often contradictory, and usually open to more than one interpretation. Dates expressed only in regnal years, such as 'in the 8th year after the coronation of King A. B.', are not of much use unless we can find out by other means the time when King A. B. lived. Very often the year is given as simply 'the year 215', or the like, without mention of the era used, which to the writer needed no specification. In the same way when modern Europeans speak of the 'year 1914', everybody understands that to mean 'after Christ', A. D. or A. C. In other cases an era may be named, but it is not certain from what date the era is to be reckoned. For example, many dates recorded in the Gupta era were known long before historians could make confident use of them. When Fleet was able to prove that Gupta Era, year 1 = A. D. 319-20, the whole Gupta dynasty dropped at once into its proper historical setting. The fixation of that one date brought order into several centuries of early Indian history. Dated inscriptions of the Indo-Scythian or Kushān kings are even more abundant, but up to the present time we do not know to which era a record of theirs dated, say, 'in the year 98' should be referred; and in consequence an important section of Indian history continues to be the sport of conjecture, so that it is impossible to write with assurance a narrative of the events connected with one of the most interesting dynasties. That chronological uncertainty spoils the history of religion, art, and literature, as well as the purely political chronicle, for the first two centuries of the Christian era.

More than thirty different eras have been used in Indian annals from time to time.¹ Difficulties of various kinds, astronomical and other, are involved in the attempt to determine the dates on which the various eras begin. Although those difficulties have been surmounted to a large extent many obscurities remain.

Synchronisms; old and new styles. Several puzzles have been solved by the use of 'synchronisms', that is to say, by the use of stray bits of information showing that King A. of unknown date was contemporary with King B. of known date. The standard example is that of Chandragupta Maurya, the contemporary of Alexander the Great for some years. The approximate date of King Meghavarna of Ceylon in the fourth century A. C. is similarly indicated by the 'synchronism' with the Indian King Samudragupta; many other cases might be cited.

The testimony of foreign authors is specially useful in this connexion, because they often give dates the meaning of which is known with certainty. Indian historians obtain much help in that way from the chronicles of Greece, China, and Ceylon, all of which have well-known systems of chronology. The subject might be further illustrated at great length, but what has been said may suffice to give the student a notion of the difficulties of

¹ Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras* (1883) discusses 27, and many more are mentioned in records.

Hindu chronology, and some of the ways in which many of them have been cleared away.

In the Muhammadan period chronological puzzles are mostly due to the innumerable contradictions of the authorities, but trouble is often experienced in converting Muslim Hijri dates exactly into the terms of the Christian era. Akbar's fanciful Ilāhī, or Divine Era, and Tippoo Sultan's still more whimsical chronology present special conundrums. In the British period nearly all dates are ascertained with ease and certainty, subject to occasional conflict of evidence or confusion between the old and new styles, which differ by ten days in the seventeenth and by eleven days in the eighteenth century.¹

Six classes of sources of Hindu history. The nature of the sources of or original authorities for Hindu history from 650 B. C. will now be considered briefly. The native or indigenous sources may be classified under five heads, namely : (1) inscriptions, or epigraphic evidence ; (2) coins, or numismatic evidence ; (3) monuments, buildings, and works of art, or archaeological evidence ; (4) tradition, as recorded in literature ; and (5) ancient historical writings, sometimes contemporary with the events narrated. The sixth source, foreign testimony, is mostly supplied either by the works of travellers of various nations, or by regular historians, especially the Cingalese, Greek, and Chinese. The value of each class of evidence will now be explained.

Inscriptions. Inscriptions have been given the first place in the list because they are, on the whole, the most important and trustworthy source of our knowledge. Unfortunately, they do not at present go further back than the third century B.C. with certainty, although it is not unlikely that records considerably earlier may be discovered, and it is possible that a very few known documents may go back beyond the reign of Asoka. Indian inscriptions, which usually are incised on either stone or metal, may be either official documents set forth by kings or other authorities, or records made by private persons for various purposes. Most of the inscriptions on stone either commemorate particular events or record the dedication of buildings or images. The commemorative documents range from the simple signature of a pilgrim to long and elaborate Sanskrit poems detailing the achievements of victorious kings. Such poems are called *prasasti*. The inscriptions on metal are for the most part grants of land inscribed on plates of

¹ Pope Gregory XIII undertook to reform the Roman calendar by correcting the error which had gradually grown to inconvenient dimensions in the course of centuries. Accordingly he decreed in 1582 that October 5 by the old calendar of that year should be called October 15. The reform was adopted either immediately or soon by Portugal, France, and several other nations ; but in Great Britain and Ireland the change was not effected until 1752, Parliament having passed an Act enacting that September 8 of that year should be deemed to be September 14, new style ; eleven days being dropped out of the reckoning. Russia still adhered to the old style until 1917 and was then nearly 13 days in error.

copper. They are sometimes extremely long, especially in the south, and usually include information about the reigning king and his ancestors. Exact knowledge of the dates of events in early Hindu history, so far as it has been attained, rests chiefly on the testimony of inscriptions.

Records of an exceptional kind occur occasionally. The most remarkable of such documents are the edicts of Asoka, which in the main are sermons on *dharma*, the Law of Piety or Duty. At Ajmēr in Rājputāna and at Dhār in Central India fragments of plays have been found inscribed on stone tablets. Part of a treatise on architecture is incised on one of the towers at Chitōr, and a score of music for the *vīṇā*, or Indian lute, has been found in the Pudukottai State, Madras. A few of the metal inscriptions are dedications, and one very ancient document on copper, the Sohgaupa plate from the Gorakhpur District, is concerned with Government storehouses.

The inscriptions which have been catalogued and published more or less fully aggregate many thousands. The numbers in the peninsula especially are enormous.

Coins. The legends on coins really are a class of inscriptions on metal, but it is more convenient to treat them separately. The science of numismatics, or the study of ancient coins, requires special expert knowledge. Coins, including those without any legends, can be made to yield much information concerning the condition of the country in the distant past. The dates frequently recorded on them afford invaluable evidence for fixing chronology. Even when the outline of the history is well known from books, as is the case for most of the Muhammadan period, the numismatic testimony helps greatly in settling doubtful dates, and in illustrating details of many kinds. Our scanty knowledge of the Bactrian, Indo-Greek, and Indo-Parthian dynasties rests chiefly on inferences drawn from the study of coins.

Archaeological evidence. The archaeological evidence, regarded as distinct from that of inscriptions and coins, is obtained by the systematic skilled examination of buildings, monuments, and works of art. Careful registration of the stratification of the ruins on ancient sites, that is to say, of the exact order in which the remains of one period follow those of another, often gives valuable proof of date. The excavations on the site of Taxila, for instance, have done much to clear up the puzzle of the Kushān or Indo-Scythian chronology already mentioned. The scientific description of buildings erected for religious or civil purposes, such as temples, *stūpas*, palaces, and private houses, throws welcome light on the conditions prevailing in ancient times. The study of works of art, including images, frescoes, and other objects, enables us to draw in outline the history of Indian art, and often affords a most illuminating commentary on the statements in books. The history of Indian religions cannot be properly understood by students who confine their attention to literary evidence. The testimony of the monuments and works of art is equally important,

and, in fact, those remains tell much which is not to be learned from books. Intelligent appreciation of the material works wrought by the ancients is necessary for the formation of a true mental picture of the past. Such observations apply equally to the Hindu and the Muhammadan periods.

Tradition almost the sole source of undated history. The knowledge, necessarily extremely imperfect, which we possess concerning ancient India between 650 and 326 B.C. is almost wholly derived from tradition as recorded in literature of various kinds, chiefly composed in the Sanskrit, Pāli, and Tamil languages. Most of the early literature is of a religious kind, and the strictly historical facts have to be collected laboriously, bit by bit, from works which were not intended to serve as histories. Some valuable scraps of historical tradition have been picked out of the writings of grammarians; and several plays, based on historical facts, yield important testimony. Tradition continues to be a rich source of historical information long after 326 B.C.

Absence of Hindu historical literature explained. The trite observation that Indian literature, prior to the Muhammadan period, does not include formal histories, although true in a sense, does not present the whole truth. Most of the Sanskrit books were composed by Brahmins, who certainly had not a taste for writing histories, their interest being engaged in other pursuits. But the Rājās were eager to preserve annals of their own doings, and took much pains to secure ample and permanent record of their achievements. They are not to blame for the melancholy fact that their efforts have had little success. The records laboriously prepared and regularly maintained have perished almost completely in consequence of the climate, including insect pests in that term, and of the innumerable political revolutions from which India has suffered. Every court in the old Hindu kingdoms maintained official bards and chroniclers whose duty it was to record and keep up the annals of the state. Some portion of such chronicles has been preserved and published by Colonel Tod, the author of the famous book, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, first published in 1829, but that work stands almost alone.¹ Some fragments of the early chronicles clearly are preserved in the royal genealogies and connected historical observations recorded in the more ancient Purāṇas; and numerous extracts from local records are given in the prefaces to many inscriptions. Thus it appears that the Hindus were not indifferent to history, although the Brahmins, the principal literary class, cared little for historical composition as a form of literature, except in the form of *prasastis*, some of which are poems of considerable literary merit. Such Sanskrit histories as exist usually were produced in the border countries, the best being the metrical chronicle of Kashmīr, called the *Rāja-taranginī*, composed in the twelfth century. Even that

¹ The survey of Rājputāna literature now in progress will disclose many more historical works.

work does not attain exactly to the European ideal of a formal history. Several Brahman authors, notably Bāna in the seventh century, wrote interesting works, half history and half romance, which contain a good deal of authentic historical matter. Our exceptionally full knowledge of the story of Harsha vardhana, King of Thānēsar and Kanauj, is derived largely from the work of Bāna entitled 'The Deeds of Harsha'.

Historical or semi-historical compositions are numerous in the languages of the south. The Mackenzie collection of manuscripts catalogued by H. H. Wilson contains a large number of texts which may be regarded as histories in some degree.

Foreign evidence. The indigenous or native sources enumerated above, which must necessarily be the basis of early Hindu history, are supplemented to a most important extent by the writings of foreigners. Hearsay notes recorded by the Greek authors Herodotus and Ktesias in the fifth century B. C. record some scraps of information, but Europe was almost ignorant of India until the veil was lifted by the operations of Alexander (326 to 323 B. C.) and the reports of his officers. Those reports, lost as a whole, survive in considerable extracts quoted in the writings of later authors, Greek and Roman. The expedition of Alexander the Great is not mentioned distinctly by any Hindu author, and the references to the subject by Muhammadan authors are of little value. Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleukos Nikator to Chandragupta Maurya in the closing years of the fourth century, wrote a highly valuable account of India, much of which has been preserved in fragments.

Formal Chinese histories from about 120 B. C. have something to tell us, but by far the most important and interesting of all the foreign witnesses are the numerous Chinese pilgrims who visited the Holy Land of Buddhism, between A. D. 400 and 700. Fa-hien, the earliest of them (A. D. 399-414), gives life to the bald chronicle of Chandragupta Vikramāditya, as constructed from inscriptions and coins. The learned Hiuen Tsang, or Yuan Chwang, in the seventh century, does the same for Harsha vardhana, and also records innumerable matters of interest concerning every part of India. I-tsing and more than sixty other pilgrims have left valuable notes of their travels. A book on the early history of Hindu India would be a very meagre and dry record but for the narratives of the pilgrims, which are full of vivid detail.

Alberūnī. Alberūnī, justly entitled the Master, a profoundly learned mathematician and astronomer, who entered India in the train of Mahmūd of Ghaznī early in the eleventh century, applied his powerful intellect to the thorough study of the whole life of the Indians. He mastered the difficult Sanskrit language, and produced a truly scientific treatise, entitled 'An Enquiry into India' (*Tahktik-i Hind*), which is a marvel of well-digested erudition. More than five centuries later that great book served as a model to Abul Fazl, whose 'Institutes of Akbar' (*Ain-i Akbari*) plainly betray the unacknowledged debt due to Alberūnī.

Muhammadan histories. Muhammadans, unlike the Brahmans, always have shown a liking and aptitude for the writing of professed histories, so that every Muslim dynasty in Asia has found its chronicler. The authors who deal with Indian history wrote, as a rule, in the Persian language. Most of the books are general histories of the Muslim world, in which Indian affairs occupy a comparatively small space, but a few works are confined to Indian subjects. The most celebrated is the excellent and conscientious compilation composed by Firishta (Ferishta) in the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr, which forms the basis of Elphinstone's *History of India* and of most modern works on the subject.

A comprehensive general view of the Indian histories in Persian is to be obtained from the translations and summaries in the eight volumes of *The History of India as told by its own Historians* (London, 1867-77) by Sir Henry Elliot and Professor John Dowson. Sir Edward Bayley's incomplete work entitled the *History of Gujarat* is a supplement to Elliot and Dowson's collection. The English translations of the *Tabakāt-i Nāsiri* by Raverty; of the *Ain-i Akbari* by Blochmann and Jarrett; of the *Akbarnāma* and the *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* by H. Beveridge; of Badāonī's book by Ranking and Lowe; and Prof. Jadunāth Sarkar's learned account of Aurangzēb's reign may be specially mentioned. Many other important books exist. The author of this volume has published a detailed biography of Akbar.

The modern historian of India, therefore, when he comes to the Muhammadan period, finds plenty of history books ready made from which he can draw most of his material. He is not reduced to the necessity of piecing together his story by combining fragments of information laboriously collected from inscriptions, coins, traditions, and passing literary references, as he is compelled to do when treating of the Hindu period. His principal difficulties arise from the contradictions of his authorities, the defects of their mode of composition, and endless minor chronological puzzles.

The epigraphic, numismatic, and monumental testimony is needed only for the completion and correction of details.

The histories written in Persian have many faults when judged by European standards, but, whatever may be the opinion held concerning those defects, it is impossible to write the history of Muhammadan India without using the Persian chronicles as its foundation.

Foreign evidence for the Muhammadan period. Foreign testimony is as valuable for the Muhammadan period as it is for the Hindu. From the ninth century onwards Muslim merchants and other travellers throw light upon the history of mediaeval India. Some scanty notes recorded by European observers in the fifteenth century have been preserved; and from the sixteenth century numerous works by European travellers present a mass of authentic information supplementary to that recorded by the Muslim historians, who looked at things from a different point of view, and omitted mention of many matters interesting to foreign

observers and modern readers. The reports of the Jesuit missionaries for the Mogul period possess special value, having been written by men highly educated, specially trained, and endowed with powers of keen observation. Large use is made in this volume of those reports which have been too often neglected by modern writers. References to the works of the leading Jesuits and the other foreign travellers will be given in due course.

Authorities for Indo-European history and British Period.

State papers and private original documents of many kinds dating as far back as a thousand years ago are fairly abundant in most countries of Europe, and supply a vast quarry of material for the historian. In India they are wholly wanting for both the Hindu and the pre-Mogul Muhammadan periods, except in so far as their place is supplied by inscriptions on stone and metal. A few documents from the reigns of Akbar and his successors survive, but most of what we know about the Moguls is derived from the secondary evidence of historians, as supplemented by the testimony of the foreign travellers, inscriptions, and coins. The case changes with the appearance of Europeans on the scene. The records of the East India Company go back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the Portuguese archives contain numerous documents of the sixteenth century.

From the middle of the eighteenth century, the commencement of the British period, the mass of contemporary papers, public and private, is almost infinite. Considerable portions of the records have been either printed at length or catalogued, and much of the printed material has been worked up by writers on special sections of the history, but an enormous quantity remains unused. In the composition of this work I have not attempted to explore manuscript collections, and have necessarily been obliged to content myself with printed matter only so far as I could manage to read and digest it. No person can read it all, or nearly all. The leading authorities consulted will be noted at the end of each chapter.

Present state of Indian historical studies. A brief survey of the present state of Indian historical studies will not be out of place in connexion with the foregoing review of the original authorities.

No general history of the Hindu period was in existence before the publication in 1904 of the first edition of the *Early History of India*. The more condensed treatment of the subject in this volume is based on the third edition of that work, published in 1914, but much new material has been used ; and the subject has been treated from a point of view to some extent changed. Many sections of the story need further elucidation, and it is certain that research will add greatly to our knowledge of the period in the near future. Numerous eager inquirers are now at work, who contribute something of value almost every month.

The Muhammadan period. The publication in 1841 of Elphinstone's justly famous *History of India* made possible for the

first time systematic study of the Indo-Muhammadan history of Hindostan or Northern India down to the battle of Pānīpat in 1761. Although Elphinstone's book, mainly based on the compilations of Firishta and Khāfī Khān, is of permanent value, it is no disparagement of its high merit to say that in these changed times it is no longer adequate for the needs of either the close student or the general reader. Since Elphinstone wrote many authorities unknown to him have become accessible, archaeological discoveries have been numerous, and corrections of various kinds have become necessary. Moreover, the attitude of readers has been modified. They now ask for something more than is to be found in the austere pages of Elphinstone, who modelled his work on the lines adopted by Muslim chroniclers.

The history of the Sultans of Delhi is in an unsatisfactory state. Much preliminary dry research is required for the accurate ascertainment of the chronology and other facts. The subject is not attractive to a large number of students, and many years may elapse before a thoroughly sound account of the Sultanate of Delhi can be written. A foundation of specialized detailed studies is always needed before a concise narrative can be composed with confidence and accuracy. I have not attempted in this volume to probe deeply among the difficulties connected with the histories of the Sultanate, but venture to hope that I may have succeeded in presenting the subject with a certain amount of freshness, especially in dealing with the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlak. Although considerable advance has been made in the study of the history of the Bahmanī empire and other Muslim kingdoms which became independent of Delhi in the fourteenth century, there is plenty of room for further investigation. The chapters on the subject in this volume are based on the examination of various and sometimes conflicting authorities. The story of the extensive Hindu empire of Vijayanagar (1336-1565) has been largely elucidated by the labours of Mr. Sewell, whose excellent work has been continued and in certain matters corrected by several authors of Indian birth. In these days some of the best historical research is done by Indian scholars, a fact which has resulted in a profound change in the presentation of the history of their land. The public addressed by a modern historian differs essentially in composition and character from that addressed by Elphinstone or Mill.

The true history of the Mogul dynasty is only beginning to be known. The story of Bābur, Humāyūn, and Akbar has been illuminated by the researches of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Beveridge, and the study of Akbar's life by the author of this volume includes much novel matter. The interesting reign of Jahāngīr has been badly handled in the current books, Elphinstone's included. The publication of a good version of that emperor's authentic *Memoirs*, and the use of the forgotten third volume of Du Jarrie's great work, not to speak of minor advantages, have enabled me to give an abbreviated account of Jahāngīr's reign, which, so far as it

goes, may fairly claim to be nearer to the truth than any narrative yet printed.

The reign of Shāhjahān, prior to the war of succession, still awaits critical study, based on the original authorities; but my treatment of the material available will be found to present a certain amount of novelty. The long and difficult reign of Aurangzēb is being discussed by Professor Jadunāth Sarkār with adequate care and learning. His work, so far as it has been published, is an indispensable authority. The dreary history of the later Moguls has been considerably elucidated in the monographs by Irvine and other works by specialists.

The British Period. James Mill's famous work, the *History of British India*, published between 1806 and 1818, brought together for the first time, to use the author's words, 'a history of that part of the British transactions, which have had an immediate relation to India'. Mill's book, notwithstanding its well-known faults, will always be valuable for reference. But it is a hundred years old, and much has happened since it was written. A history of the British period, whether long or short, must now be planned on somewhat different lines, and must include at least the whole of the nineteenth century.

No really satisfactory work on the period exists. The reason perhaps is that the material is too vast to be handled properly. The absence of any first class work on a large scale renders impossible at present the preparation of a condensed history capable of satisfying the ideals of an author or the requirements of skilled critics. The composition of a sound, large work on the subject would be more than sufficient occupation for a long life. A writer who aims only at producing a readable, reasonably accurate, and up-to-date general history of India within the limits of a single volume, must be content to do his best with so much of the overabundant material as he has leisure to master.

Changed methods. It will be apparent from the foregoing summary review of the present condition of Indian historical studies, that the writer of a comparatively short history, while enjoying various advantages denied to his predecessors even a few years ago, is not at present in a position to supply a uniformly authentic and digested narrative in all the sections of his work. In some fields the ground has been thoroughly, or at any rate, laboriously cultivated, whereas in others, it has been but lightly scratched by the plough of investigation.

The value and interest of history depend largely on the degree in which the present is illuminated by the past. Our existing conditions differ so radically from those which prevailed in the times of our grandfathers and great-grandfathers, and our positive knowledge of the facts of the past has increased so enormously that a new book on Indian history—even though avowedly compressed—must be composed in a new spirit, as it is addressed to a new audience. Certain it is that the history of India does not begin with the battle of Plassey, as some people think it ought to begin, and

that a sound, even if not profound knowledge of the older history will always be a valuable aid in the attempt to solve the numerous problems of modern India.

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BOOK IV

CHAPTER 1

The Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India and the Sultanate of Delhi,
A. D. 1175–1290.

Rise and decline of Muhammadan power. The Muhammadan conquest of India did not begin until the last quarter of the twelfth century, if the frontier provinces of Kābul, the Panjāb, and Sind be excluded from consideration. It may be reckoned to have continued until 1340, when the empire of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlak attained its maximum extent, comprising twenty-four provinces more or less effectively under the control of the Sultan of Delhi.¹ The provinces included a large portion of the Deccan, and even a section of the Ma'abar or Coromandel coast.

After 1340 the frontiers of the Sultanate of Delhi rapidly contracted, many new kingdoms, both Musalmān and Hindu, being formed. The quick growth of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar checked the southern progress of Islām and recovered some territory which had passed under Muslim rule. Elsewhere, too, Hindu chiefs asserted themselves, and it may be affirmed with truth that for more than two centuries, from 1340 to the accession of Akbar in 1556, Islām lost ground on the whole.

Under Akbar and his successors the Muslim frontier was extended from time to time until 1691, when the officers of Aurangzēb were able for a moment to levy tribute from Tanjore and Trichinopoly in the Far South. After the date named the Marāthās enlarged the borders of Hindu dominion until 1818, when their power was broken and they were forced to acknowledge British supremacy, as based on the conquest of Bengal and Bihār between 1757 and 1765. That, in brief, is the outline of the rise, decline, and fall of Muhammadan sovereign rule in India. From 1818 to 1858 the empire of Delhi was merely titular.

This chapter and the next will be devoted to a summary account of the progress of the Muhammadan conquest from A.D. 1175 to 1340. Most of the conquests, after the earliest, were made by or for the Sultans of Delhi, whose line began in 1206.

The dynasty of Ghōr (Ghōrī). The first attack was made by a chieftain of the obscure principality of Ghōr, hidden away among the mountains of Afghanistan to the south-east of Herat. Little is known about the country, which has never been visited by any European. Even the position of the ancient town of Ghōr, believed to be now in ruins, has not been ascertained with precision. The fortune of the Ghōr chiefs was made by means of a quarrel

¹ The list is in Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 208.

with the successors of Sultan Mahmūd of Ghaznī. One of those successors named Bahrām having executed two princes of Ghōr the blood-feud thus started prompted Alāu-d dīn Husain to take vengeance by sacking Ghaznī in A.D. 1150 (=A.H. 544). The unhappy city was given to the flames for seven days and nights during which

'plunder, devastation, and slaughter were continuous. Every man that was found was slain, and all the women and children were made prisoners. All the palaces and edifices of the Mahmūdī kings which had no equal in the world'

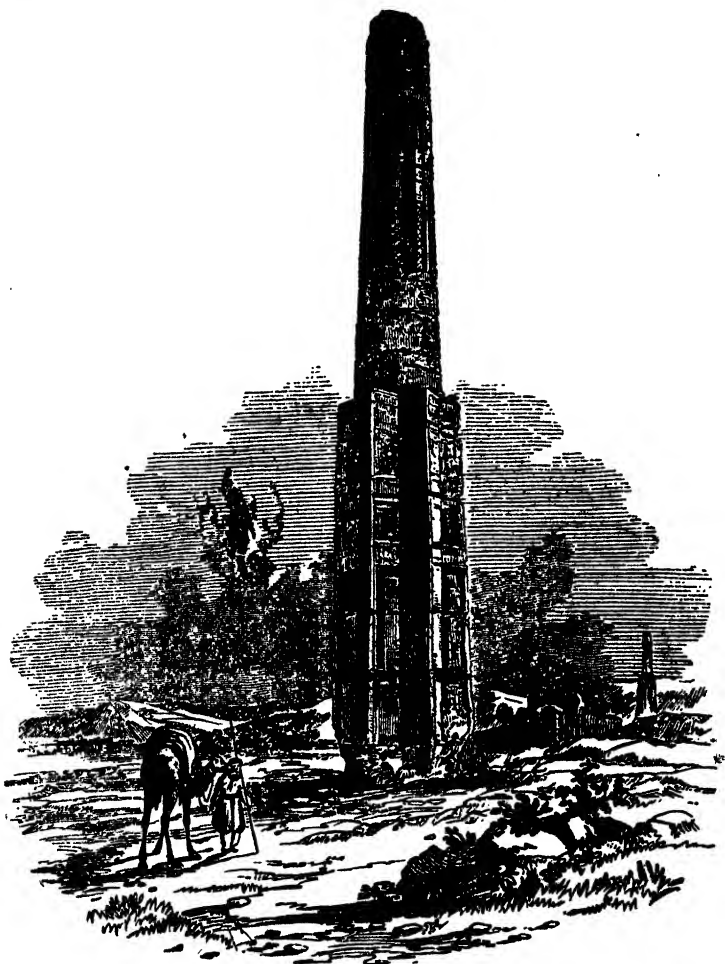
were destroyed, save only the tombs of Sultan Mahmūd and two of his relatives. Shortly afterwards Khusrū Shāh, the representative of Mahmūd, was obliged to leave Ghaznī and retire to Lahore (1160). But Ghaznī was not incorporated in the dominions of Ghōr until twelve or thirteen years later (1173), when it was annexed by Sultan Ghiyāsu-d dīn of Ghōr, who made over the conquered territory with its dependencies, including Kābul, to the government as Sultan of his brother Muhammad, the son of Sām, who is also known by his titles of Shihābu-d dīn and Muizzu-d dīn (r-daulat). It is most convenient to designate him as Muhammad Ghōrī, or 'of Ghōr', Sultan of Ghaznī, and conqueror of Hindostan.

Early operations of Muhammad Ghōrī. He began his Indian operations by a successful attack on Multān (1175-6), which he followed up by the occupation of Ūchh, obtained through the treachery of a Rānī. Three years later he moved southwards and attempted the conquest of rich Gujarāt. But Mūlarāja of Anhilwāra was too strong for the invader, who was defeated and repulsed with heavy loss (1178). The victory protected Gujarāt as a whole, from any serious Muhammadan attack for more than a century, although intermediate raids occurred, and Anhilwār was occupied two years later. Such checks to the progress of Islām as Mūlarāja inflicted were rare.

In 1187 Muhammad Ghōrī deposed Khusrū Malik, the last prince of the line of Sabuktigīn and Mahmūd, and himself occupied the Panjāb. Having already secured Sind he was thus in possession of the basin of the Indus, and in a position to make further advance into the fertile plains of India, teeming with tempting riches, and inhabited by idolaters, fit only to be 'sent to hell' according to the simple creed of the invaders.

First battle of Tarāin. The Sultan organized a powerful expedition as soon as possible, and in 1191 (A.H. 587) advanced into India. The magnitude of the danger induced the various Hindu kings to lay aside their quarrels for a moment and to form a great confederacy against the invader, as their ancestors had done against Amīr Sabuktigīn and Sultan Mahmūd. All the leading powers of northern India sent contingents, the whole being under the command of Rāi Pithorā or Prithirāj, the Chauhan ruler of Ajmēr and Delhi. The Hindu host met the army of Islām at Tarāin or Talāwarī, between Karnāl and Thānēsar, and distastefully

fourteen miles from the latter place. That region, the modern Karnāl District, is marked out by nature as the battle-field in



MINARET AT GHAZNI.

which the invader from the north-west must meet the defenders of Delhi and the basin of the Ganges. The legendary ground of Kurukshetra, where the heroes of the *Mahabharata* had fought

before the dawn of history was not far distant, and Pānīpat, where three decisive battles were lost and won in later ages, is about thirty miles farther south. The Sultan, who met the brother of Prithīrāj in single combat, was severely wounded, and as a consequence of that accident his army was 'irretrievably routed'. The Hindus did not pursue, but permitted the defeated foe to retire and gather strength for a fresh inroad.

Second battle of Tarāin. In the following year the Sultan returned, met the Hindu confederates on the same ground, and in his turn defeated them utterly (1192, A.H. 588). Rāi Prithīrāj, when his cumbrous host had been broken by the onset of ten thousand mounted archers, fled from the field, but was captured and killed. His brother fell in the battle. Rajā Jaichand of Kanauj fell in another fight. Ajmēr, with much other territory, was occupied at once by the victors. In fact, the second battle of Tarāin in 1192 may be regarded as the decisive contest which ensured the ultimate success of the Muhammadan attack on Hindostan. All the numerous subsequent victories were merely consequences of the overwhelming defeat of the Hindu league on the historic plain to the north of Delhi. No Hindu general in any age was willing to profit by experience and learn the lesson taught by Alexander's operations long ago. Time after time enormous hosts, formed of the contingents supplied by innumerable Rājās, and supported by the delusive strength of elephants, were easily routed by quite small bodies of vigorous western soldiers, fighting under one undivided command, and trusting chiefly to well-armed mobile cavalry. Alexander, Muhammad of Ghōr, Bābur, Ahmad Shāh Durrāni, and other capable commanders, all used essentially the same tactics by which they secured decisive victories against Hindu armies of almost incredible numbers. The ancient Hindu military system, based on the formal rules of old-world scriptures, was good enough for use as between one Indian nation and another, but almost invariably broke down when pitted against the onslaughts of hardy casteless horsemen from the west, who cared nothing for the *śāstras*. The Hindu defenders of their country, although fully equal to their assailants in courage and contempt of death, were distinctly inferior in the art of war, and for that reason lost their independence. The Indian caste system is unfavourable to military efficiency as against foreign foes.

Kutbu-d dīn Aibak. After the victory of Tarāin the Sultan returned to Khurāsān, leaving the conduct of the Indian campaign in the hands of Kutbu-d dīn Aibak or Ibak, a native of Turkestan, who had been bought as a slave, and was still technically in a servile condition while conquering Hindostan. In 1193 (A.H. 589) Kutbu-d dīn occupied Delhi, and advanced towards Benares. Kanauj does not appear to have been molested, but must have come under the control of the invaders. Soon afterward Gwālīor fell, and in 1197 ~~Anhilwāra~~, the capital of Gujarāt, was occupied, although the province was not subdued.

Conquest of Bihār. The subjugation of the eastern kingdoms

was effected with astounding facility by Kutbu-d dīn's general, Muhammad Khilji, the son of Bakhtyār. The Muslim general, acting independently, after completing several successful plundering expeditions, seized the fort of Biḥār, probably in 1197, by an audacious move, and thus mastered the capital of the province of that name. The capture of the fort was effected by a party of two hundred horsemen. The prevailing religion of Biḥār at that time was a corrupt form of Buddhism, which had received liberal patronage from the kings of the Pāla dynasty for more than three centuries. The Muhammadan historian, indifferent to distinctions among idolaters, states that the majority of the inhabitants were 'shaven-headed Brahmans', who were all put to the sword. He evidently means Buddhist monks, as he was informed that the whole city and fortress were considered to be a college, which the name Biḥār signifies. A great library was scattered. When the victors desired to know what the books might be no man capable of explaining their contents had been left alive. No doubt everything was then burnt. The multitude of images used in mediaeval Buddhist worship always inflamed the fanaticism of Muslim warriors to such fury that no quarter was given to the idolaters. The ashes of the Buddhist sanctuaries at Sārnāth near Benares still bear witness to the rage of the image-breakers. Many noble monuments of the ancient civilization of India were irretrievably wrecked in the course of the early Muhammadan invasions. Those invasions were fatal to the existence of Buddhism as an organized religion in northern India, where its strength resided chiefly in Biḥār and certain adjoining territories. The monks who escaped massacre fled, and were scattered over Nepāl, Tibet, and the south. After A.D. 1200 the traces of Buddhism in upper India are faint and obscure.

Conquest of Bengal. Bengal, then under the rule of Lakshmana Śēna, an aged and venerated Brahmanical prince, succumbed even more easily a little later, probably at the close of 1199. Muhammad Khilji, son of Bakhtyār, riding in advance of the main body of his troops, suddenly appeared before the capital city of Nūdiāh (Nuddea) with a party of eighteen troopers, who were supposed by the people to be horse dealers. Thus slenderly escorted he rode up to the Rājā's palace and boldly attacked the doorkeepers. The raider's audacity succeeded. The Rājā, who was at his dinner, slipped away by a back door and retired to the neighbourhood of Daḍḍa, where his descendants continued to rule as local chiefs for several generations. The Muslim general destroyed Nūdiāh, and transferred the seat of government to Lakshmanāvati or Gaur, an ancient Hindu city. Muhammad secured the approval of his master, Kutbu-d dīn, by giving him plenty of plunder, and proceeded to organize a purely Muhammadan provincial administration, in practical independence. Mosques and other Muslim edifices were erected all over the kingdom. The conquest so easily effected was final. Bengal never escaped from the rule of Muhammadans for any considerable time until

they were superseded in the eighteenth century by the British, whose victory at Plassey was gained nearly as cheaply as that of Muhammad Khilji.

Conquest of Bundēlkhand. The strong Chandēl fortress of Kālanjar in Bundēlkhand was surrendered by the minister of Rājā Parmāl (Paramarrdi), in 1203, to Kutbu-d dīn.



Coin of Paramarrdi.

The gratified historian of the conqueror's exploits states that

'the temples were converted into mosques and abodes of goodness; and the ejaculations of the bead-counters [worshippers using rosaries] and the voices of the summoners to prayer ascended to the highest heaven, and the very name of

idolatry was annihilated. . . . Fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery, and the plain became black as pitch with Hindus.'

The victor passed on and occupied Mahoba, the seat of the Chandēl civil government.

Death of Muhammad of Ghōr. In the same year Ghiyāsu-d dīn, the Sultan of Ghōr, died and was succeeded by his brother Muhammad, who thus united in his person all the dominions of the family. Muhammad had returned to Ghaznī after the capture of Kālanjar. Two years later, in 1205, he was recalled to the Panjāb in order to suppress a revolt of the powerful Khokhar tribe. The Sultan treated the foe in the drastic manner of the times. He 'sent that refractory race to hell, and carried on a holy war as prescribed by the canons of Islām, and set a river of the blood of those people flowing'. But fate overtook him. As he was on the march towards Ghaznī in March 1206 (A.H. 602) he was stabbed by a sectarian fanatic at Dhamiāk, a camping-ground now in the Jihlam (Jhelum) District.

The first Sultan of Delhi. Kutbu-d dīn, who had been dignified with the title of Sultan by Muhammad Ghōrī's brother's son, Ghiyāsu-d dīn Mahmūd, succeeded Muhammad Ghōrī as sovereign of the new Indian conquests, and from 1206 may be reckoned as the first Sultan of Delhi. But his enthronement took place at Lahōre. The new sovereign sought to strengthen his position by marriage alliances with influential rival chiefs. He himself married the daughter of Tāju-d dīn Yalduz (Eldoz), and he gave his sister to Nāsiru-d dīn Kubācha, who became the ruler of Sind. ʿIltutmish (Altamsh), governor of Bihār, married Kutbu-d dīn's daughter.

The three persons named, Yalduz, Kubācha, and ʿIltutmish, had been slaves like Kutbu-d dīn himself. The dynasty founded by Kutbu-d dīn and continued by other princes of servile origin is consequently known to history as the Slave Dynasty.

Kutbu-d dīn died in 1211, from the effects of an accident on the polo-ground, having ruled as Sultan for a little more than four years.

Ferocity of the early invaders. He was a typical specimen of the ferocious Central Asian warriors of the time, merciless and fanatical. His valour and profuse liberality to his comrades endeared him to the bloodthirsty historian of his age, who praises him as having been a 'beneficent and victorious monarch. . . His gifts', we are told, 'were bestowed by hundreds of thousands, and his slaughters likewise were by hundreds of thousands.' All the leaders in the Muslim conquest of Hindostan similarly rejoiced in committing wholesale massacres of Hindu idolaters, armed or unarmed. Their rapid success was largely due to their pitiless 'frightfulness', which made resistance terribly dangerous, and could not always be evaded by humble submission. The author of the *Tabakāt-i Nāsiri* quoted above thoroughly approved of the ferocity of his heroes, and centuries later we find much the same temper shown in the writings of Firishta and Badāoni.

The modern reader of the panegyrics recorded by Muslim authors in praise of 'beneficent' monarchs who slaughtered their hundreds of thousands with delight often longs for an account of their character as it appeared to the friends and countrymen of the victims. But no voice has come from the grave, and the story of the Muhammadan conquest as seen from the Hindu point of view was never written, except to some extent in Rājputāna. The current notions of Indian mediaeval history, based chiefly on the narrative of Elphinstone, who worked entirely on materials supplied by Muslim authors, seem to me to be largely erroneous and often to reflect the prejudices of the historians who wrote in Persian.

Architecture of the early Sultans. The prevailing favourable or at least lenient judgement on the merits of the earlier and appallingly bloodthirsty Sultans in India is due in no small measure to the admiration deservedly felt for their architectural works. The 'Kutb' group of buildings at Old Delhi, although named after the saint from Ūsh who lies buried there, rather than after the first Sultan, undoubtedly is in part the work of Kutbu-d dīn Aibak, who built the noble screen of arches. The question whether the famous Minār was begun by him and completed by Iltutmish, or was wholly built by the later sovereign, has given rise to differences of opinion depending on the interpretation of certain inscriptions.

Indo-Muhammadan architecture, which derives its peculiar character from the fact that Indian craftsmen necessarily were employed on the edifices of the foreign faith, dates from the short reign of Kutbu-d dīn Aibak. The masterpieces of the novel form of art cost a heavy price by reason of the destruction of multitudes of equally meritorious ancient buildings and sculptures in other styles. The materials of no less than twenty-seven Hindu temples were used in the erection of the 'Kutb' mosque.

The end of Muhammad, son of Bakhtyār. The ludicrous facility with which Bihār and Bengal had been overrun and annexed tempted Muhammad bin Bakhtyār to a more adventurous enterprise.

'The ambition of seizing the country of Turkestan and Tibbat [Tibet] began to torment his brain; and he had an army got ready, and about 10,000 horse were organized.'

Unfortunately, the information available is not sufficient to determine exactly either the line of his march or the farthest point of his advance. He seems to have moved through the region now known as the Bogra and Jalpaiguri Districts, and to have



GREAT ARCH, KUTB MOSQUE.

crossed a great river supposed to be the Karatōya by a stone bridge of twenty arches, the site of which has not been identified. The rivers have completely changed their courses. The Tista, for instance, now a tributary of the Brahmaputra, formerly joined the Karatōya. He is said to have reached 'the open country of Tibbat', but what that phrase may mean it is not easy to say. Beyond a certain point, perhaps to the north of Darjeeling, he was unable to proceed, and was obliged to retreat. His starving force, finding the bridge broken, attempted to ford the river. All were drowned, except about a hundred including the leader, who struggled across somehow. Muhammad, overcome by shame and remorse, took to

his bed and died, or, according to another account, was assassinated.¹ His death occurred in the Hijrī year 602, equivalent to A.D. 1205-6. Early in the reign of Aurangzēb Mir Jumla attempted to invade Assam and failed nearly as disastrously as his predecessor had done. The mountains to the north of Bengal were never reduced to obedience by any Muhammadan sovereign.

Sultan Īltutmish. Ārām, the son of Kutbu-d dīn, who succeeded to the throne, did not inherit his father's abilities, and was quickly displaced (1211) in favour of his sister's husband, Īltutmish, corruptly called Altamsh, who assumed the title of Shamsu-d dīn, 'the sun of religion'. Much of his time was spent in successful fighting with his rival slave chieftains, Yalduz and Kubācha. Before he died in 1236 he had reduced the greater part of Hindostan to subjection, more or less complete.

The Kutb Minār was built, except the basement story, under his direction about A.D. 1232. He made other important additions to the Kutb group of buildings, and is buried there in a beautiful tomb, 'one of the richest examples of Hindu art applied to Muhammadan purposes that Old Delhi affords'. Īltutmish is also responsible for a magnificent mosque at Ajmēr, built like that at Delhi from the materials of Hindu temples.




Coin of Īltutmish.

Chingiz Khān. In his days India narrowly escaped the most terrible of all possible calamities, a visit from Chingiz Khān, the dreaded Great Khān or Khākān of the Mongols.² He actually advanced as far as the Indus, in pursuit of Jalālu-d dīn Mankbarnī, the fugitive Sultan of Khwārizm or Khiva, who took refuge at the court of Delhi, after surprising adventures. The western Panjāb was plundered by the Mongol troopers, but no organized invasion of India took place. Chingiz Khān had some thoughts of going home to Mongolia through India and Tibet, and is said to have asked permission to pass through the territories of Īltutmish; but happily he changed his mind and retired from Peshāwar.

¹ See Blochmann in *J. A. S. B.*, part i for 1875, p. 282.

² The spelling of the name varies much. Howorth gives Chinghiz as the most correct form. Raverty uses both Chingiz and Chingiz. The

coin of a governor of Multān with the same name has  without dots or vowel marks. The *Encycl. Brit.* has the form Jenghiz, while Chambers gives Genghis. Chingiz seems to be the simplest and safest spelling. Mongol (Monggol) is the same word as Mughal (Mogul, &c.), but it is convenient to confine the term Mongol to the heathen followers of Chingiz, who were mostly 'narrow-eyed' people, reserving the term Mogul in its various spellings for the more civilized tribes, largely of Turkī blood, who became Muhammadans in the fourteenth century, and from whom sprang the Chagatāi or Jagatāi section of Turks to which Bābur and his successors in India belonged. The Turkī races ordinarily resemble Europeans in features, and have not the Mongolian 'narrow eyes' strongly marked, but Turks and Mongols intermarried freely, and the Mongol blood often asserted itself. It shows in the portraits of Akbar.

Chingiz Khān was the official title of the Mongol chieftain Temujin or Tamūrchi, born in 1162, who acquired ascendancy early in life over the tribes of Mongolia. About the beginning of the thirteenth century they elected him to be the head of their confederacy and he then adopted the style of Chingiz Khān, probably a corruption of a Chinese title. In the course of a few years he conquered a large portion of China and all the famous kingdoms of Central Asia. Balkh, Bokhāra, Samarkand, Herāt, Ghaznī, and many other cities of renown fell under his merciless hand and were reduced to ruins. The vanquished inhabitants, men, women, and children, were slain literally in millions. Those countries even to this day have not recovered from the effects of his devastations. He carried his victorious hordes far into Russia to the bank of the Dnieper, and when he died in 1227 ruled a gigantic empire extending from the Pacific to the Black Sea.

The author of the *Tabakāt-i Nāsiri*, who admired a Muslim, but abhorred a heathen slayer of men, has drawn a vivid sketch of the conqueror, which is worth quoting :

‘ Trustworthy persons have related that the Chingiz Khān, at the time when he came into Khurāsān, was sixty-five [lunar] years old, a man of tall stature, of vigorous build, robust in body, the hair on his face scanty and turned white, with cat’s eyes, possessed of great energy, discernment, genius, and understanding, awe-striking, a butcher, just, resolute, an overthrower of enemies, intrepid, sanguinary, cruel.’

The author goes on to say that the Khān was an adept in magic, and befriended by devils. He would sometimes fall into a trance and then utter oracles dictated by the devils who possessed him. Perhaps, like Akbar, Peter the Great, and several other mighty men of old, he may have been an epileptic.

Sultan Raziyyatu-d dīn. Sultan İltutmish, knowing the incapacity of his surviving sons, had nominated his daughter



Raziyya or Raziyyatu-d dīn (‘accepted by religion’) as his successor.¹ But the nobles thought that they knew better and placed on the throne Prince Ruknu-d dīn, a worthless debauchee. After a scandalous reign of a few months he was put out of the way and replaced by his sister, who assumed the title of Sultan and did her best to play the part of a man. She took an active part in the wars with Hindus and rebel

Muslim chiefs, riding an elephant in the sight of all men. But her sex was against her. She tried to compromise by marrying a chief who had opposed her in rebellion. Even that expedient did not save her. Both she and her husband were killed by certain Hindus. She had a troubled reign of more than three years. The author of the *Tabakāt-i Nāsiri*, the only contemporary authority for the period, gives Sultan Raziyyatu-d dīn a high character from his Muslim point of view. She was, he declares,

¹ She also bore the title of Jalālu-d dīn (Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 138). Ibn Batuta gives her name simply as Raziyyat—his words are *wa bintarī tasmī Rāziyyat* (Defrémery, iii. 166).

'a great sovereign, and sagacious, just, beneficent, the patron of the learned, a dispenser of justice, the cherisher of her subjects, and of warlike talent, and was endowed with all the admirable attributes and qualifications necessary for kings; but as she did not attain the destiny in her creation of being computed among men, of what advantage were all these excellent qualifications unto her?'

Sultan Nāsiru-d dīn. A son and grandson of Sultan Iltutmish were then successively enthroned. Both proved to be failures and were removed in favour of Nāsiru-d dīn, a younger son of Iltutmish (1246), who managed to retain his life and office for twenty years. The historian, Minhāj-i Sirāj, who has been quoted more than once, held high office under Nāsiru-d dīn and called his book by his sovereign's name. His judgement of a liberal patron necessarily is biased, but no other contemporary authority exists, and we must be content with his version of the facts. So far as appears, the Sultan lived the life of a fanatical devotee, leaving the conduct of affairs in the hands of Ulugh Khān Balban, his father-in-law and minister. 'At this time', the historian observes, 'many holy expeditions, as by creed enjoined, were undertaken, and much wealth came in from all parts.'

Mongol raids. The Mongols whom Chingiz Khān had left behind, or who crossed the frontier after his retirement, gave constant trouble during the reign. They had occupied and ruined Lahore in 1241-2 and continued to make many inroads on Sind, including Multān. Nāsiru-d dīn, who had no family, nominated Ulugh Khān Balban as his successor.¹

The nature of the warfare of the period is illustrated by the description of the campaign in Sirmūr, a hill state of the Panjāb, to the south of Simla.

'Ulugh Khān Azam, by stroke of sword, turned that mountain tract upside down, and pushed on through passes and defiles to Sirmūr, and devastated the hill-tract, and waged holy war as by the faith enjoined; over which tract no sovereign had acquired power, and which no Musalmān army had ever before reached, and caused such a number of villainous Hindu rebels to be slain as cannot be defined or numbered, nor be contained in record nor in narration.'

Sultan Balban. Balban, as Elphinstone observes, 'being already in possession of all the powers of king, found no difficulty in assuming the title'. He had been one of the 'Forty Slaves' attached to Sultan Iltutmish, most of whom attained to high positions. Balban's first care was to execute the survivors of the forty, in order to relieve himself of the dangers of rivalry. He had no regard for human life, and no scruples about shedding blood. He was, indeed, a 'ruthless king'. 'Fear and awe of him took possession of all men's hearts,' and he maintained such pomp and dignity at his court that all beholders were impressed with respect for his person. He never laughed. His justice, executed

¹ Elphinstone's account of the reigns intervening between Iltutmish and Balban is incorrect in several particulars. Ibn Batuta alleges that Balban murdered Nāsiru-d dīn.

without respect of persons, was stern and bloody. He secured his authority in the provinces by an organized system of espionage, and spies who failed to report incidents of importance were hanged. He refused to employ Hindu officials. Before his accession he had put down the Mewāti brigands who infested the neighbourhood of Delhi with such severity that the country was quieted for sixty years.

The disgusting details must be quoted in order to show the character of the Sultan and the age. After the army had successfully traversed the haunts of the robbers for twenty days, it returned to the capital with the prisoners in January 1260.

'By royal command many of the rebels were cast under the feet of elephants, and the fierce Turks cut the bodies of the Hindus in two. About a hundred met their death at the hands of the flayers, being skinned from head to foot; their skins were all stuffed with straw, and some of them were hung over every gate of the city. The plain of Hauz-Rānī and the gates of Delhi remembered no punishment like this, nor had one ever heard such a tale of horror.'



Coin of Balban.

Even after those cruelties the Mewātīs broke out again. Six months after the executions Ulugh Khān (Balban) once more invaded the hills by forced marches so as to surprise the inhabitants (July 1260).

'He fell upon the insurgents unawares, and captured them all, to the number of twelve thousand—men, women, and children—whom he put to the sword. All their valleys and strongholds were overrun and cleared, and great booty captured. Thanks be to God for this victory of Islām !'

When quite an old man he spent three years in suppressing the rebellion in Bengal of a Turkī noble named Tughril who had dared to assume royal state. The rebel's family was exterminated, including the women and the little children. The country-side was terrified at the sight of the rows of gibbets set up in the streets of the provincial capital. The governorship of Bengal continued to be held by members of Balban's family until 1338, when the revolt occurred which resulted in the definite independence of the province. However horrible the cruelty of Balban may appear, it served its purpose and maintained a certain degree of order in rough times. When he died 'all security of life and property was lost, and no one had any confidence in the stability of the kingdom'.

Refugee princes. Balban's magnificent court was honoured by the presence of fifteen kings and princes who had fled to Delhi for refuge from the horrors of the Mongol devastations. No other Muhammadan court remained open to them. Many eminent

literary men, the most notable being Amīr Khusrū the poet, were associated with the refugee princes. The Sultan's main anxiety was caused by the fear of a Mongol invasion on a large scale, which prevented him from undertaking conquests of new territory. His eldest and best loved son was killed in a fight with the heathens. That sorrow shook the strong constitution of Balban, the 'wary old wolf, who had held possession of Delhi for sixty years'. He died in 1286 at an advanced age.

Sultan Kaikobād. Balban left no heir fit to succeed him. In those days no definite rule of succession existed and the nobles were accustomed to select whom they pleased by a rough election. Kaikobād, a grandson of Balban, aged about eighteen years, who was placed on the throne, although his father was living in Bengal, as governor of that province, disgraced himself by scandalous debauchery, and was removed after a short reign.

End of the Slave Kings. Balban's hopes of establishing a dynasty were thus frustrated, and the stormy rule of the Slave Kings came to an end. They were either fierce fanatics or worthless debauchees. The fanatics possessed the merits of courage and activity in warfare, with a rough sense of justice when dealing with Muslims. Hindu idolaters and Mongol devil-worshippers had no rights in their eyes and deserved no fate better than to be 'sent to hell'. The Sultan took no count of anybody except the small minority of Muhammadan followers on whose swords the existence of the dynasty depended. 'The army', says the historian, 'is the source and means of government.' Naturally such rulers made no attempt to solve the problems of civil government. Politically, they acquired a tolerably firm hold on the regions now called the Panjāb, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, with Bihār, Gwālior, Sind, and some parts of Rājputāna and Central India. Their control of the Panjāb was disputed by the Mongols, from the time of Chingiz Khān (1221). Bengal was practically independent, although Balban's severities enforced formal submission to the suzerainty of Delhi and the occasional payment of tribute. Mālwa, Gujarāt, and all the rest of India continued to be governed by numerous Hindu monarchs of widely varying importance to whom the tragedies of the Sultanate were matters of indifference.

CHRONOLOGY

	A. D.
Sultan MUHAMMAD OF GHŌR (Ghōrī, with titles of Shihābu-d dīn and Muizzu-d dīn, son of Sām)	
Occupied Multān and Ūchh	1175-6
Defeated by Rājā of Gujarāt	1178
Deposed Khusrū Malik of Lahore	1187
First battle of Tarāin	1191
Second battle of Tarāin	1192
Reduction of Delhi, Benares, Bihār, &c.	1193-7
Conquest of Bengal	1199-1200
Capture of Kālanjar	1203
Death of the Sultan	1206

<i>Sultans of Delhi ; the Slave Kings</i>		A.D.
KUTBU-D DĪN AIBAK or ĪBAK		1206
ĀRĀM SHĀH		1210
ĪLTUTMISH (Altamsh)		1211
Mongol invasion	1221,	1222
Death of Chingiz Khān		1227
RUKNU-D DĪN and RĀZIYYATU-D DĪN (Raziyya)		1236
BAHRĀM, &c.		1240
NĀSIRU-D DĪN MAHMŪD		1246
GHIYĀSU-D DĪN BALBAN		1266
MUIZZU-D DĪN KAIKOBĀD		1286
Murder of Kaikobād ; end of dynasty		1290

AUTHORITIES

The leading contemporary authority, and to a large extent the only one, is the *Tabakāt-i Nāsirī*, translated in full by Raverty (London, 1881), with learned but diffuse annotation. Part of the work is translated in *E. & D.*, vol. ii. Other Persian authorities are given in that volume and vol. iii. Firishta mostly copies from the *Tabakāt-i Nāsirī* through the *Tabakāt-i Akbarī*. Elphinstone's account requires correction in some particulars, as he relied chiefly on Firishta. Raverty's *Notes on Afghanistan* (London, 1888), a valuable, though an ill-arranged and bulky book, has been serviceable to me.

CHAPTER 2

The Sultanate of Delhi continued; A.D. 1290 to 1340; the Khiljī and Tughlak dynasties.

Sultan Jalālu-d dīn Khiljī. Kaikobād having been brutally killed, a high official named Fīrōz Shāh, of the Khalj or Khiljī tribe, who was placed on the throne by a section of the nobles, assumed the title of Jalālu-d dīn. Although the Khalj or Khiljī tribe is reckoned by Raverty among the Turks, the contemporary author Ziāu-d dīn Baranī, who must have known the facts, states that Jalālu-d dīn 'came of a race different from the Turks', and that by the death of Sultan Kaikobād 'the Turks lost the empire'. Jalālu-d dīn was an aged man of about seventy when elected. His election was so unpopular that he did not venture to reside in Delhi, and was obliged to build himself a palace at the village of Kilūghari or Kilūkheri, a short distance outside, which became known as Naushahr or 'Newtown'. The year after his accession a famine occurred so severe that many Hindus drowned themselves in the Jumna. The administration of the Sultan is criticized as having been too lenient, and it seems probable that he was too old for his work. On one occasion he is recorded to have lost his temper and to have cruelly executed an unorthodox holy man named Sidī Maulā. That irregular execution or murder was believed to have been the cause of the Sultan's evil fate. A Mongol invasion made in strong force in the year 1292 was stopped by negotiation, and probably by the payment of heavy

blackmail. The historian's account seems to lack candour. Many of the Mongols elected to stay in India, becoming nominally Musalmāns. They were spoken of as New Muslims, and settled down at Kilūghari and other villages near Delhi.

Murder of Jalālu-d dīn. In 1294 Alāu-d dīn, son of the Sultan's brother, and also son-in-law of Jalālu-d dīn, obtained permission for an expedition into Mālwa. But he went much farther, plunging into the heart of the Deccan, and keeping his movements concealed from the court. He marched through Berar and Khāndēsh, and compelled Rāmachandra, the Yādava king of Dēogiri and the western Deccan, to surrender Ellichpur (Ilichpur). Alāu-d dīn collected treasure to an amount unheard of, and showed no disposition to share it with his sovereign. In fact, his treasonable intentions were patent to everybody except his doting old uncle and father-in-law, who closed his ears against all warnings and behaved like a person infatuated. Ultimately, Jalālu-d dīn was persuaded to place himself in his nephew's power at Karā in the Allahabad District. When the Sultan grasped the traitor's hand the signal was given. He was thrown down and decapitated. His head was stuck on a spear and carried round the camp. Lavish distribution of gold secured the adhesion of the army to the usurper, and Alāu-d dīn became Sultan (July 1296).

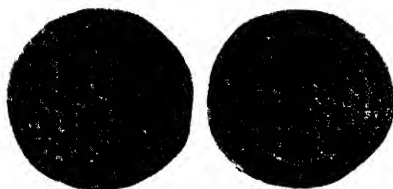
Thuggee. Jalālu-d dīn, although he did not deserve his cruel fate, was wholly unfit to rule. We are told that often thieves brought before him would be released on taking an oath to sin no more. One of his actions was particularly silly. At some time during his reign about a thousand thugs (*thags*) were arrested in Delhi. The Sultan would not allow one of them to be executed. He adopted the imbecile plan of putting them into boats and transporting them to Lakhnauti (Gaur), the capital of Bengal. That piece of folly probably is the origin of the river thuggee in Bengal, a serious form of crime still prevalent in modern times, and possibly not extinct even now. The story, told by Ziāu-d dīn Baranī, is of special interest as being the earliest known historical notice of thuggee. It is evident that the crime must have been well established in the time of Jalālu-d dīn. The organization broken up by Sleeman presumably dated from remote antiquity.¹

Sultan Alāu-d dīn Khiljī. The African traveller Ibn Batuta in the fourteenth century expressed the opinion that Alāu-d dīn deserved to be considered 'one of the best sultans'.² That some-

¹ By an unlucky slip, when editing Sleeman, I attributed Jalālu-d dīn's folly to Firōz Shāh Tughlak (1351-88), a more sensible monarch. My eye was caught by the page-heading (*E. & D.*, iii. 141), '*Tārkh-i Firōz-Shāhī*' (*Rambles and Recollections*, ed. 1915, p. 652).

² *wa kāna min khayr alsalāfīn*, 'il fut au nombre des meilleurs sultans' (Defrémery, iii. 184). The obvious rashness of Ibn Batuta's expression of opinion may serve as a warning when similar praise of other bloodthirsty monarchs is found in the pages of divers authors, and contradiction is not so easy as it is in the case of Alāu-d dīn.

what surprising verdict is not justified either by the manner in which Alāu-d dīn attained power or by the history of his acts as Sultan. Ziaū-d dīn Baranī, the excellent historian who gives the fullest account of his reign, justly dwells on his 'crafty cruelty', and on his addiction to disgusting vice. 'He shed', we are told, 'more innocent blood than ever Pharaoh was guilty of', and he 'did not escape retribution for the blood of his patron'. He ruthlessly killed off everybody who could be supposed to endanger his ill-gotten throne, cutting up root and branch all the nobles who had served under his uncle, save three only. Even innocent women and children were not spared, a new horror. 'Up to this time no hand had ever been laid upon wives and children on account of men's misdeeds.' The evil precedent set by 'one of the best sultans' was often followed in later times. Elphinstone's judg-



Coin of Alāu-d dīn Khilji.

ment of Alāu-d dīn's character is too lenient. The facts do not warrant the assertions that he exhibited a 'just exercise of his power', and that his reign was 'glorious'. In reality he was a particularly savage tyrant, with very little regard for justice, and his reign, although marked by the conquest of Gujarāt, many

successful predatory raids, and the storming of two great fortresses, was exceedingly disgraceful in many respects.¹

Political events. The political events of Alāu-d dīn's reign comprised numerous plots and revolts, savagely suppressed; five or six invasions of the Mongols; the conquest of Gujarāt; repeated raids on the Deccan, and the capture of two strong Rājput fortresses, Ranthambhōr and Chitōr, the former of which is now in the Jaipur, and the latter in the Udaipur State. The Mongol invasions seem to have begun in A.D. 1297 and to have continued until about 1305, but the exact chronology of the reign has not been settled. The conspiracies and revolts may be passed over without further notice. The most serious Mongol invasion is assigned to 1303, when a vast host of the fierce foreigners invested Delhi for two months and then retired. The histories suggest a supernatural reason for their unexplained withdrawal, but it may be suspected that they were simply bought off by a huge ransom. Their final attack on Multān is dated in 1305. It is certain that during the remaining years of Alāu-d dīn's reign Hindostan enjoyed a respite from their ravages.

¹ The reign of Alāu-d dīn requires critical study in a separate monograph. Many points are obscure, and the chronology is far from settled. I cannot attempt to clear up the difficulties in this work. Badāoni, writing in the sixteenth century, was equally puzzled, and plaintively remarks: 'Historians have paid little attention to the due order of events, but God knows the truth.'

Massacre of Mongols. Early in the reign, apparently in 1297 or 1298, an attempted rising of the recently converted Mongols settled in the villages near Delhi induced Alāu-d dīn to perpetrate a fearful massacre, in the course of which all the male settlers, estimated to number from 15,000 to 30,000, were slaughtered in one day.

Expeditions to the south. The expeditions into the Deccan conducted by the eunuch Malik Kāfūr, the infamous favourite of the Sultan, were ended in 1311, when the victorious general returned to Delhi with an almost incredible amount of spoil collected from the accumulated treasures of the south. The Hindu kingdoms of the Yādava dynasty of Dcogiri (Daulatābād), the Hoysala dynasty of Mysore, with its capital at Dōra Samudra; and of the Ma'abar or Coromandel coast were overrun, plundered, and to a certain extent subjugated. Musalmān governors were established even at Madura, the ancient capital of the Pāndyas. The invaders practised dreadful cruelties.

Ranthambhōr and Chitōr. The first attack on Ranthambhōr in the year 1300 failed, but in the year following the fortress fell after a long siege.

The romantic legends recorded by the Rājput bards concerning the sack of Chitōr in 1303 may be read in Tod's pages. They cannot be regarded as sober history and are far too lengthy to be repeated here. But there can be no doubt that the defenders sacrificed their lives in a desperate final fight after the traditional Rājput manner, and that their death was preceded by

'that horrible rite, the *janhar*, where the females are immolated to preserve them from pollution or captivity. The funeral pyre was lighted within the "great subterranean retreat", in chambers impervious to the light of day, and the defenders of Chitōr beheld in procession the queens, their own wives and daughters to the number of several thousands. . . . They were conveyed to the cavern, and the opening closed upon them, leaving them to find security from dishonour in the devouring element.'

Tod inspected the closed entrance, but did not attempt to penetrate the sacred recesses.

Follies of the Sultan. Alāu-d dīn was intoxicated by the successes of his arms. 'In his exaltation, ignorance, and folly he quite lost his head, forming the most impossible schemes, and nourishing the most extravagant desires.' He caused himself to be dubbed the 'second Alexander' in the *khutba* or 'bidding prayer' and in the legends of his extensive coinage, dreaming dreams of universal conquest. He persuaded himself that he had the power to establish 'a new religion and creed', with himself as prophet, but had sense enough to listen patiently to the bold remonstrances of the historian's uncle, the *kotwāl* or magistrate of Delhi, and to recognize the fact that 'the prophetic office has never appertained to kings, and never will, so long as the world lasts, though some prophets have discharged the functions of royalty'. In that matter Alāu-d dīn showed himself wiser than

Akbar, who persisted in a similar project and so made himself ridiculous.

Policy towards Hindus. Alāu-d dīn's policy in relation to the Hindus, the bulk of his subjects, was not peculiar to himself, being practised by many of the earlier Muslim rulers. But it was defined by him with unusual precision, without any regard to the rules laid down by ecclesiastical lawyers. Ziaū-d dīn states the Sultan's principles in the clearest possible language.

He required his advisers to draw up 'rules and regulations for grinding down the Hindus, and for depriving them of that wealth and property which fosters disaffection and rebellion'. The cultivated land was directed to be all measured, and the Government took half of the gross produce instead of one-sixth as provided by immemorial rule. Akbar ventured to claim one-third, which was exorbitant, but Alāu-d dīn's demand of one-half was monstrous.

'No Hindu could hold up his head, and in their houses no sign of gold or silver . . . or of any superfluity was to be seen. These things, which nourish insubordination and rebellion, were no longer to be found. . . . Blows, confinement in the stocks, imprisonment and chains, were all employed to enforce payment.'

Replying to a learned lawyer whom he had consulted, the Sultan said :

'Oh, doctor, thou art a learned man, but thou hast had no experience; I am an unlettered man, but I have seen a great deal; be assured then that the Hindus will never become submissive and obedient till they are reduced to poverty. I have, therefore, given orders that just sufficient shall be left to them from year to year, of corn, milk, and curds, but that they shall not be allowed to accumulate hoards and property.'

Tyranny. His tyranny was enforced by an organized system of espionage and ferocious punishments. Prices were regulated by order, and state granaries on a large scale were constructed. His measures succeeded in preserving artificial cheapness in the markets of the capital even during years of drought, but at the cost of infinite oppression. All his fantastic regulations died with him.

Buildings and literature. Alāu-d dīn loved building and executed many magnificent works. He built a new Delhi called Sirī on the site now marked by the village of Shāhpur, but his edifices there were pulled down by Shēr Shāh and have wholly disappeared. He made extensive additions to the 'Kutb' group of sacred structures, and began a gigantic *mīnār* which was intended to far surpass the noble Kutb Mīnār. The unfinished stump still stands. When building Sirī he remembered that 'it is a condition that in a new building blood should be sprinkled; he therefore sacrificed some thousands of goat-bearded Mughals for the purpose'.

In early life he was illiterate, but after his accession acquired the art of reading Persian to some extent. In spite of his personal

indifference to learning several eminent literary men attended his court, of whom the most famous is Amīr Khusrū, a voluminous and much admired author in both verse and prose.

Death of Alāu-d dīn. The tyrant suffered justly from many troubles in his latter days, and 'success no longer attended him'. His naturally violent temper became uncontrollable, and he allowed his guilty infatuation for Malik Kāfūr to influence all his actions. His health failed, dropsy developed, and in January 1316 he died. 'Some say that the infamous Malik Kāfūr helped his disease to a fatal termination.'

Malik Kāfūr placed an infant son of the Sultan on the throne, reserving all power to himself. He imprisoned, blinded, or killed most of the other members of the royal family, but his criminal rule lasted only thirty-five days. After the lapse of that time he and his companions were beheaded by their slave guards.

Sultan Kutbu-d dīn Mubārak. Kutbu-d dīn or Mubārak Khān, a son of Alāu-d dīn, who had escaped destruction, was taken out of confinement and enthroned. The young sovereign was wholly evil, the slave of filthy vice, and no good for anything. He was infatuated with a youth named Hasan, originally an outcast *parwārī*, the lowest of the low, whom he ennobled under the style of Khusrū Khān. 'During his reign of four years and four months, the Sultan attended to nothing but drinking, listening to music, debauchery, and pleasure, scattering gifts, and gratifying his lusts.' By good luck the Mongols did not attack. If they had done so there was no one to oppose them. Kutbu-d dīn Mubārak attained two military successes. His officers tightened the hold of his government on Gujarāt, and he in person led an army into the Deccan against Dēogiri, where the Rājā, Harpāl Dēo, had revolted. The Hindu prince failed to offer substantial resistance and was barbarously flayed alive (1318). After his triumphant return from the Deccan the Sultan became still worse than before.

'He gave way to wrath and obscenity, to severity, revenge, and heartlessness. He dipped his hands in innocent blood, and he allowed his tongue to utter disgusting and abusive words to his companions and attendants. . . . He cast aside all regard for decency, and presented himself decked out in the trinkets and apparel of a female before his assembled company;'

and did many other evil deeds.

Ultimately the degraded creature was killed by his minion, Khusrū Khān, aided by his outcast brethren, 'and the basis of the dynasty of Alāu-d dīn was utterly razed'.

The vile wretches who thus attained momentary power abused it to the utmost. Khusrū even ventured to marry his late sovereign's chief consort, who had been a Hindu princess. The usurper favoured Hindus as against Muslims, and it was said that 'Delhi had once more come under Hindu rule'. The orgy of low-born triumph did not last long. After a few months the usurper was defeated and beheaded by Ghāzī Malik, a Karaunia Turk noble,

governor of Debālpur in the Panjāb. Everything was in confusion and no male scion of the royal stock had been left in existence.

Ghiyāsu-d dīn Tughlak Shāh. The nobles having thus a free hand, and recognizing the fact that the disordered State required a master, elected Ghāzī Malik to fill the vacant throne. He assumed the style of Ghiyāsu-d dīn Tughlak, and is often called Tughlak Shāh (A. D. 1321). His father, a Turk, had been a slave of Balban; his mother, a Jat woman, was Indian born. His conduct justified the confidence bestowed on him by his colleagues. He restored a reasonable amount of order to the internal administration and took measures to guard against the ever pressing danger from Mongol inroads.

He sent his son Jūnā Khān into the Deccan, where the countries conquered by Alāu-d dīn had refused obedience. The prince reached Warangal or Orangal, now in the eastern part of the Nizam's dominions, and undertook the siege of the fort. The strong walls of mud resisted his efforts, pestilence broke out, his men deserted, and he was forced to return to Delhi with only 3,000 horse, a mere remnant of his force. But a second expedition



Coin of Tughlak Shāh.

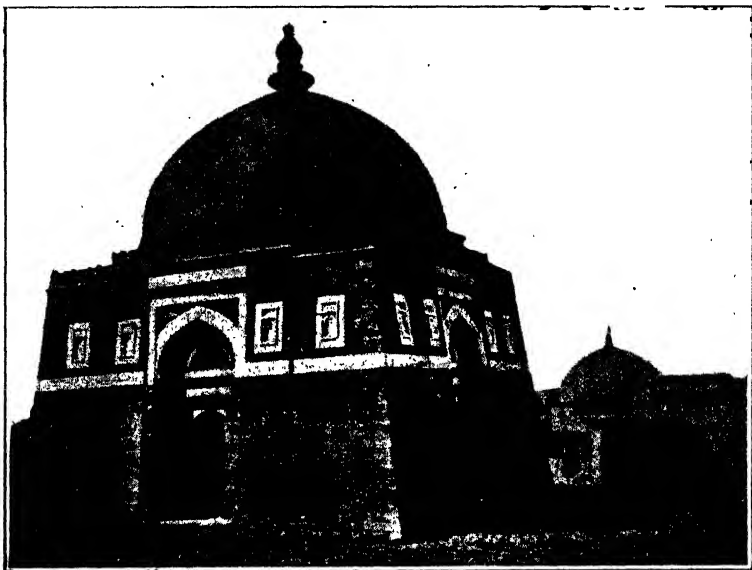
was more successful, resulting in the capture of both Bīdar and Warangal. At that time Warangal had recovered its independence, and was under the rule of a Hindu rājā. The Sultan meantime, having been invited to intervene in a disputed succession, had marched across Bengal as far as Sunārgāon near Dacca, and on his way home had annexed Tīrhūt.

He left Bengal practically independent, although he brought to Delhi as a prisoner one of the claimants to the provincial throne.

Murder of Tughlak Shāh. His son Jūnā, or Muhammad, who had returned from the south, was then in charge of the capital. His proceedings had given his father reason to suspect his loyalty. The Sultan desired his son to build for him a temporary reception pavilion or pleasure-house on the bank of the Jumna. Jūnā Khān entrusted the work to Ahmad, afterwards known as Khwāja Jahān, who was head of the public works department and in his confidence. The prince asked and obtained permission to parade the elephants fully accoutred before his father, who took up his station in the new building for afternoon prayers. The confederates arranged that the elephants when passing should collide with the timber structure, which accordingly fell on the Sultan and his favourite younger son, Mahmūd, who accompanied him. Jūnā Khan made a pretence of sending for picks and shovels to dig out his father and brother, but purposely hindered action being taken until it was too late. The Sultan was found bending over the boy's body, and if he still breathed, as some people assert that he did, he was finished off (A. D. 1325). After nightfall his body was removed and interred in the massive sepulchre which

he had prepared for himself in Tughlakābād, the mighty fortress which he had built near Delhi.¹

Accession of Muhammad bin Tughlak, February 1325. The parricide gathered the fruits of his crime, as Alāu-d dīn Khiljī had done, and seated himself on the throne without opposition.² He occupied it for twenty-six years of tyranny as atrocious as any on record in the sad annals of human devilry and then died in his bed. Like Alāu-d dīn he secured favour by lavish largess, scattering without stint the golden treasure stored by his father



TOMB OF TUGHLAK SHĀH

within the grim walls of Tughlakābād. It was reported that Tughlak Shāh had constructed a reservoir filled with molten gold in a solid mass.

Ibn Batuta ; character of the Sultan. Our knowledge of the second sovereign of the Tughlak dynasty, who appears in history as Muhammad bin (son of) Tughlak, is extraordinarily detailed and accurate, because, in addition to the narrative of an unusually

¹ The facts as recorded by Ibn Batuta (vol. iii, p. 213) are certain, having been related to the traveller by Shaikh Ruknu-d dīn, the saint, who was present when the carefully arranged 'accident' occurred. No reason whatever exists for giving Jūnā Khān the 'benefit of the doubt'.

² 'Lorsque le sultan Toghlok fut mort, son fils Mohammed s'empara du royaume, sans rencontrer d'adversaire ni de rebelle.'

good Indian historian (Ziāu-d dīn Baranī), we possess the observations of the African traveller, Ibn Batuta, who spent several years at the court and in the service of the Sultan until April 1347, when he succeeded in retiring from his dangerous employment. He was then sent away honourably as ambassador to the emperor of China. But the ships on which the members of the embassy embarked were wrecked off Calicut and the mission was broken up. Ibn Batuta escaped with his life, and ultimately made his way safely to Fez in northern Africa, in November 1349, after twenty-five years of travel and astounding adventures. He experienced the usual fate of men who come home with strange traveller's tales, and was deemed to be a daring liar. But he was no liar, so far as his book deals with India. His account of his Indian experiences, with which alone we are concerned, bears the stamp of truth on every page. Most of his statements concerning Muhammad bin Tughlak are based on direct personal knowledge.¹ Ziāu-d din of Baran (Bulandshahr) also was a contemporary official and wrote in the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlak's cousin and successor, Firōz Shāh. Although he naturally does not exhibit the impartial detachment of the foreign observer, his narrative is full of vivid detail. If space permitted the materials would suffice for a long story, but in a short history room can be found only for a brief selection of the doings of one of the most astonishing kings mentioned in the records of the world.

Notwithstanding that Muhammad bin Tughlak was guilty of acts which the pen shrinks from recording, and that he wrought untold misery in the course of his long reign, he was not wholly evil. He was 'a mixture of opposites', as Jahāngīr was in a later age.

He established hospitals and almshouses, and his generosity to learned Muslims was unprecedented. It was even possible to describe him with truth both as 'the humblest of men' and also as an intense egotist. Elphinstone's just summary of his enigmatic character deserves quotation :

'It is admitted, on all hands, that he was the most eloquent and accomplished prince of his age. His letters, both in Arabic and Persian, were admired for their elegance long after he had ceased to reign. His memory was extraordinary ; and, besides a thorough knowledge of logic and the philosophy of the Greeks, he was much attached to mathematics and to physical science ; and used himself to attend sick persons for the purpose of watching the symptoms of any extraordinary disease. He was regular in his devotions, abstained from wine, and conformed in his private life to all the moral precepts of his religion. In war he was distinguished for his gallantry and personal activity, so that his contemporaries were justified in esteeming him as one of the wonders of the age.

Yet the whole of these splendid talents and accomplishments were given to him in vain ; they were accompanied by a perversion of judgement, which, after every allowance for the intoxication of absolute power, leaves us in doubt whether he was not affected by some degree of insanity.

¹ 'Quant aux aventures de ce roi-ci, la plupart sont au nombre de ce que j'ai vu durant mon séjour dans ses États' (vol. iii, p. 216).

His whole life was spent in pursuing visionary schemes, by means equally irrational, and with a total disregard of the sufferings which they occasioned to his subjects; and its results were more calamitous than those of any other Indian reign.'

To that discriminating passage the remark may be added that the Sultan, like Jahāngir afterwards, believed himself to be a just man, and was persuaded that all his atrocities were in accordance with the principles of justice and Muslim law. There is no reason to suppose that his conscience troubled him. On the contrary, he deliberately defended his conduct against criticism and avowed his resolve to continue his course to the end.

'I punish', he said, 'the most trifling act of contumacy with death. This I will do until I die, or until the people act honestly, and give up rebellion and contumacy. I have no such minister (*wazīr*) as will make rules to obviate my shedding blood. I punish the people because they have all at once become my enemies and opponents. I have dispensed great wealth among them, but they have not become friendly and loyal. Their temper is well known to me, and I see that they are disaffected and inimical to me.'

Thus, he went on, unmoved from his fell purpose, although sometimes permitting himself to be influenced by mere rage and the lust of vengeance. His inhuman tyranny was the direct cause of the break up of the empire of Delhi.

Premising that the authorities are discrepant concerning the order of events, and that the chronology of the reign is consequently uncertain to some extent, the leading events of the Sultan's rule will be now narrated.¹

Evacuation of Delhi. In the year A.D. 1326-7 (A.H. 727) the Sultan, having taken offence at the inhabitants of Delhi because they threw into his audience-hall abusive papers criticizing his policy, decided to destroy their city. He marched to Dēogiri in the Deccan, where he constructed the strong fort to which he gave the name of Daulatābād, and resolved to make his capital there, in a situation more central than Delhi.² Ibn Batuta, who was in the Sultan's service from about 1341 or 1342 to 1347, gives the following account:

'He decided to ruin Delhi, so he purchased all the houses and inns from the inhabitants, paid them the price, and then ordered them to remove to Daulatābād. At first they were unwilling to obey, but the crier of the monarch proclaimed that no one must be found in Delhi after three days.

The greater part of the inhabitants departed, but some hid themselves in the houses. The Sultan ordered a rigorous search to be made for any that remained. His slaves found two men in the streets; one was paralyzed, and the other blind. They were brought before the sovereign, who ordered the paralytic to be shot away from a manjanik [catapult], and the blind

¹ My narrative is based on the table constructed by Defrémery and Sanguinetti, chiefly on the authority of Khondamir (*Voyages d'Ibn Batuta* (1858), vol. iii, pp. xx-xxiv), as checked by the coin dates. But the subject requires special investigation in a separate essay. Obscurities in detail remain.

² A gold coin was struck at Dēogiri in A. H. 727 (Thomas, No. 174, p. 209).

man to be dragged from Delhi to Daulatābād, a journey of forty days' distance. The poor wretch fell in pieces during the journey, and only one of his legs reached Daulatābād. All the inhabitants of Delhi left; they abandoned their baggage and their merchandize, and the city remained a perfect desert.

A person in whom I felt confidence assured me that the Sultan mounted one evening upon the roof of his palace, and, casting his eyes over the city of Delhi, in which there was no fire, smoke nor light, said: "Now my heart is satisfied, and my feelings are appeased."

Some time after he wrote to the inhabitants of different provinces, commanding them to go to Delhi and repeople it. They ruined their own countries, but they did not populate Delhi, so vast and immense is that city. In fact, it is one of the greatest cities in the universe. When we entered this capital we found it in the state which has been described. It was empty, abandoned, and had but a small population.'

Ziāu-d dīn confirms the traveller's account, saying:

'The city, with its *sarāis*, and its suburbs and villages, spread over four or five *kōs* [about 7 to 10 miles]. All was destroyed. So complete was the ruin, that not a cat or a dog was left among the buildings of the city, in its palaces or in its suburbs.'

According to Firishta the population of Delhi was removed to Daulatābād for the second time in 1340 (A. H. 741).

The Mongols bought off. The numerous revolts which characterized the reign began as early as 1327, when the governor of Mūltān rebelled. About the same time Tarmashirīn, Khān of the Jagatāi or Chagatāi section (*ulūs*) of the Mongols, advanced with a large force to the gates of Delhi, and had to be bought off by a heavy payment of blackmail. The Sultan was then obliged to remain for three years at Delhi in order to guard against a repetition of the invasion.¹

Attack on Persia. Early in the reign an abortive attempt to conquer the Persian province of Khurāsān with a gigantic cavalry force ended in the dispersal of the army and widespread ruin.

Forced currency. The Sultan's extravagances naturally disordered his finances. Casting about for relief he bethought himself of the paper currency of China, and argued that if the Chinese emperor could use paper money with success he could pass copper or brass as if it were silver in virtue of his royal command. Accordingly he issued orders to that effect and struck vast quantities of copper money, inscribed with legends denoting their value as if the pieces were silver. The official issues were supplemented by an immense unauthorized coinage.

'The promulgation of this edict turned the house of every Hindu into a mint, and the Hindus of the various provinces coined millions and hundreds of thousands (*karōrs*, *lākhs*) of copper coins. With these they paid their tribute, and with these they purchased horses, arms, and fine things of all kinds. . . . Every goldsmith struck copper coins in his workshop and the treasury was filled with these copper coins.'

¹ Ziāu-d dīn accuses the Sultan of 'patronizing and favouring the Mughals' (*E. & D.*, iii. 251). He used the savages as instruments of his cruelty.

But the smash soon came, and the Sultan was obliged to repeal his edict, 'till at last copper became copper, and silver, silver'. The discarded coins were piled up in mountainous heaps at Tughlakabad, and 'had no more value than stones'.¹

Attack on China. Another disastrous project was that of the conquest of China, to be effected through Nepāl, and by crossing the Himalayan ranges. A force of 100,000 cavalry under the command of Khusrū Malik, son of the Sultan's sister, was dispatched on that crazy enterprise in 1337-8 (A. H. 738). Naturally, the horsemen came to grief among the mountains, and when they encountered the Chinese were defeated.

The few men, about ten, who survived to return to Delhi were massacred by their bloodthirsty master.

Fate of Bahāu-d dīn. Another sister's son of the Sultan named Bahāu-d dīn rebelled at a date not specified. He failed and was betrayed. His appalling fate is thus related by Ibn Batuta :

'They bound his legs and tied his arms to his neck, and so conducted him to the Sultan. He ordered the prisoner to be taken to the women his relations, and these insulted and spat upon him. Then he ordered him to be skinned alive, and, as his skin was torn off, his flesh was cooked with rice. Some was sent to his children and his wife, and the remainder was put into a great dish and given to the elephants to eat, but they would not touch it. The Sultan ordered his skin to be stuffed with straw, and to be placed along with the remains of Bahādur Būra,² and to be exhibited throughout the country.'

When Kishlū Khān, governor of Sind, received the loathsome objects he ordered them to be buried. His action infuriated the Sultan, who pursued the governor to death, and flayed alive a Kāzī who had supported him.

Even after the lapse of so many centuries it is painful to copy the accounts of such horrors, but it is necessary to tell the truth about a man like Muhammad bin Tughlak, and not to permit him to escape condemnation because he was attentive to the ritual of his religion, decent in private life, and extravagantly liberal to persons who attracted his capricious favour.

Many pages might be filled with stories of the crimes committed by the murderous tyrant, but I forbear.

Ruin of the country. The internal administration of the country went to ruin. The taxes were enhanced to a degree unbearable, and collected so rigorously that the peasantry were reduced to beggary, and people who possessed anything felt that they had no resource but rebellion. The Sultan came to hate his subjects and to take pleasure in their wholesale destruction. At one time he

'led forth his army to ravage Hindostan. He laid the country waste from

¹ The forced currency bears the dates A. H. 730, 731, and 732 = A. D. 1329-32.

² A relative of Balban and claimant to the viceregal throne of Bengal.

Kanauj to Dalmau [on the Ganges, in the Rāi Barēli District, Oudh], and every person that fell into his hands he slew. Many of the inhabitants fled and took refuge in the jungles, but the Sultan had the jungles surrounded, and every individual that was captured was killed.'

The victims, of course, were all or nearly all Hindus, a fact which added to the pleasure of the chase.

The short-lived empire. Muhammad bin Tughlak, in the early part of his reign, controlled more or less fully an empire far larger than that under the rule of any of his Muhammadan predecessors. It was divided into twenty-four provinces, comprising, in modern terms, the Panjāb, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Bihār, Tirhūt, Bengal, Sind, Mālwa, Gujarāt, and a large portion of the Deccan, including part of Mysore and the Coromandel coast or Ma'abar.¹ The degree of subjection of the various provinces varied much, but in a large part of the enormous area indicated the Sultan's authority, when he chose to assert it, was absolute.

The earlier revolts, which were many, were suppressed in the ruthless manner of which some examples have been cited. Later, the Sultan's tyranny became so intolerable, and the resources at his command so much reduced, that he was unable to resist rebellion with success or to prevent the break up of his empire.

The turning-point was reached in 1338-9=A.H. 739, when both Bengal and Ma'abar or Coromandel revolted and escaped from the Delhi tyranny.

The decline and fall of the Sultanate, which may be dated from that year, or from 1340 in round numbers, will form the subject of the next chapter.²

CHAPTER 3

The Decline and Fall of the Sultanate of Delhi, A.D. 1340-1526; the Tughlak dynasty concluded; Timūr; the Sayyids; the Lodi dynasty; Islām in Indian life.

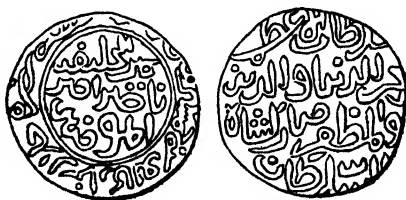
Revolt of Bengal. Bengal had been ruled since the close of the twelfth century by governors who were expected to recognize the suzerainty of Delhi and to send tribute more or less regularly to court. We have seen how Balban suppressed with merciless ferocity Tughril Khān's attempt to attain formal independence. After the extermination of Tughril Khān and his followers, the

¹ The list (from Sirāju-d dīn) is in Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 203. By a slip the text mentions 23 provinces, while the list specifies 24. The name Ma'abar, given correctly in Arabic characters (معبر), is misprinted Malabar in the English transliteration. No Sultan of Delhi had any concern with Malabar on the western coast. Briggs, the translator of Firishṭa, confounded Ma'abar with Malabar, and other people have made the same mistake.

² The chronology and authorities will be given at the end of chapter 8.

governorship was held by Balban's second son, the father of Sultan Kaikobād, and after him by other members of Balban's family. A contest between two brothers for the viceregal throne resulted, as already mentioned, in the interference of Tughlak Shāh, who marched across Bengal and carried off to Delhi Bahādur Shāh, the claimant whose pretensions had been disallowed. The captive was pardoned and sent back to Bengal by Muhammad bin Tughlak, but rebelled unsuccessfully. He was killed and his stuffed skin was hawked about the empire along with that of the Sultan's nephew, until both were buried by Kishlū Khān, with tragic results, as already stated.

In 1338-9 (A.H. 739) Fakhru-d dīn or Fakhra started a rebellion in Eastern Bengal, which eventually involved the whole province and brought about its complete separation from the Sultanate of Delhi. Muhammad bin Tughlak was too much occupied elsewhere to be able to assert his sovereignty over Bengal. He let the province go, and it continued to retain its independence until reconquered by Akbar. Occasional ceremonial admissions of the superior rank of the Sultan or Pādshāh of Delhi did not impair the substantial independence of the kings of Bengal.



Bengal coin of Fakhru-d dīn.

Rebellions in the south. About the same time, approximately 1340, Saiyid Hasan, the governor of Ma'abar or Coromandel, revolted, and slew the Sultan's officers.

In 1341-2 (A.H. 742) Muhammad bin Tughlak marched southwards, intent on restoring his authority in the peninsula and inflicting condign punishment on the rebel. But when he arrived at Warangal, and was still distant three months' march from his goal, an epidemic of cholera broke out in the camp, which killed many and endangered the life of the sovereign, who was attacked by the disease. He was forced to retire to Daulatābād, and thence to Delhi, having given permission that any persons who desired to do so might return to their old homes in the capital. The Warangal or Telingāna territory was lost to the empire.

Famine. Thousands of people made the attempt to return, but few survived the journey, because an awful famine then raged throughout Mālwā, and was particularly severe at Delhi. All cultivation had ceased, failure of the rains combining with misrule and anarchy to make agriculture impossible. The famine lasted for several years. The Sultan made some feeble efforts to restore tillage by offering loans from the treasury, but the cattle had perished and the people were too exhausted to make use of money.

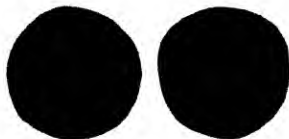
Vijayanagar and Bahmanī kingdoms. A few years earlier the southern expansion of the Muslim power had been checked,

and territory had been lost to the Hindus by the rapid rise of the kingdom of the Rāyas of Vijayanagar to the south of the Krishnā. The traditional date for the foundation of the city is 1336. Ten years later the new kingdom had become an important power.

In 1347 the rebellion of Hasan or Zafar Khān, an officer of the Sultan, and either an Afghan or a Turk, laid the foundation of the great Bahmanī kingdom, with its capital at Kulbargā or Ahsanābād.

The history of both the Bahmanī and Vijayanagar kingdoms or empires will be narrated with considerable fullness in Book V and need not be pursued farther in this place.

✓ **Submission to the Egyptian Khalif.** At this time of general insurrection the crazy Sultan took it into his head to fancy that his sovereignty required the sanction of the Khalif (Caliph), the head of Islām. He took much pains to satisfy himself as to the identity of the prince entitled to the rank of Khalif, and at length was convinced that the Sultan of Egypt possessed the power to grant the desired investiture. An embassy was sent to Egypt,



Khalif coin of Muhammad bin Tughlak.

and the ambassador dispatched from that country with a favourable reply was received with extravagant veneration. Muhammad bin Tughlak professed himself to be merely the vicegerent of the Khalif, removed his own name from the coinage, and replaced it by that of the supreme ruler of Islām. The coins struck on that principle were issued during about three years, from 1340 to 1343 (A. H. 741-3).

Firōz Shāh, the successor of Muhammad bin Tughlak, also secured investiture from the Egyptian Khalif, and was as proud of the honour as his cousin had been.

✓ **Death of the Sultan.** The historians give ample details of the endless revolts which marked the latter years of Muhammad bin Tughlak's disastrous reign, and of his attempts at suppression, in some measure successful. 'The people were never tired of rebelling, nor the king of punishing.'

It is needless to follow the wearisome story through all its horrors. The Sultan, after ineffectual efforts to recover the Deccan, where he retained nothing except Daulatābād, moved into Gujarāt in order to suppress the disorders of that province, where he spent three rainy seasons. He quitted Gujarāt late in 1350 to pursue a rebel, and crossed the Indus into Sind, although his health had failed. While he was still on the bank of the river and a considerable distance from Thatha (Tattah), the capital of Lower Sind, his illness increased and developed into a violent fever which killed him in March 1351. Thus 'the Sultan was freed from his people, and the people from their Sultan'. It is astonishing that such a monster should have retained power for twenty-six years, and then have died in his bed. The misery caused by his savage misrule is incalculable. Politically, he destroyed the hardly-won supremacy of the Delhi Sultanate.

Court of the Sultan. The arrangements and ceremonial of the court of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlak differed widely from those, mainly based upon the Persian model, which were observed by Akbar and his successors, as described in detail by Abu-l Fazl and numerous European travellers. At the Sultan's court the proceedings were dominated by the forms of religion, each ceremony being preceded by the ejaculation 'In the name of God', and precedence being given to theologians. The Mogul ceremonial, on the contrary, was purely secular, precedence being given first to members of the royal family and then to officials according to rank.

Executions. The interior of the Sultan's palace was approached by three gates in succession. Outside the first gate were platforms on which the executioners sat. The persons condemned were executed outside the gate, where their bodies lay exposed for three days. The remains were then collected and thrown into a pit near the huts of the executioners. The relatives were not allowed to give the victims decent burial, but sometimes managed to do so by means of bribery. The approaches to the palace were commonly blocked by mangled corpses.¹

Audience-halls. The second gate opened on a spacious audience-hall for the general public.

The 'scribes of the gate' sat at the third portal, which could not be passed without the authorization of the Sultan, who gave his formal audiences inside in the 'Hall of a Thousand Columns'. The columns were of varnished wood, and the ceiling was of planks, admirably painted. The formal audience usually was given after prayers in the afternoon, but sometimes at daybreak.

Order of precedence. The order of precedence for placing and presentations was (1) the Chief Kāzī, or judge of Muslim law; (2) the Chief Preacher; (3) the other Kāzīs; (4) leading lawyers; (5) principal descendants of the Prophet (Sayyids); (6) Shaikhs, or holy men; (7) brothers and brothers-in-law of the Sultan, who had no son; (8) principal nobles; (9) foreign notables; (10) generals.

Ceremonial at the 'Ids. Special ceremonial was observed on the occasions of the two great Id festivals ('*Idu-l fitr* and '*Idu-l kurbān*'). One peculiar incident may be mentioned. On those occasions there was set up a great perfume-holder (*cassolette*) made of pure gold in sections, each of which required several men to carry it. Inside were three niches or compartments occupied by men whose business it was to diffuse incense from the burning of two kinds of aloec-wood, with ambergris, and benzoin. The whole audience-hall was filled with the vapour. Boys carrying gold and silver barrels of rose-water and orange-water sprinkled the contents freely over all present.

¹ Badāoni says: 'Moreover there was constantly in front of his royal pavilion and his civil Court a mound of dead bodies and a heap of corpses, while the sweepers and executioners were wearied out with their work of dragging (the wretched victims) and putting them to death in crowds' (transl. Ranking, i. 317).

Daughters of Hindu kings made captive during the year were compelled to dance and sing, and then distributed to persons of distinction.

Ceremonial when the Sultan returned. When the Sultan returned from a progress a large leather reservoir was provided, filled with essence of roses and syrup dissolved in water, which everybody was free to drink.

The Sultan, on several occasions when entering the capital, caused small catapults to be mounted on elephants from which were discharged gold and silver coins to be scrambled for by the populace. In that proceeding he followed the precedent set by Alāu-d dīn Khiljī immediately after his usurpation, when he sought to win popular acquiescence by scattering in the same way 'golden stars', the half- and quarter-*fanams* forming part of the immense booty brought from the Deccan.

Meals in public. The Mogul sovereign always dined alone in the private apartments of the palace. Muhammad bin Tughlak used to dine in the audience-hall and share his meal with about twenty persons of eminence.

He also provided a public banquet twice a day, once before noon and again in the afternoon. The order of precedence was the same as that observed at levées, the judges and theologians being served first. The menu included loaves like cakes; other loaves split and filled with sweet paste; rice, roast meats, fowls, and mince.¹

Accession of Fīrōz Shāh, 1351. The death of the Sultan left his army camped on the bank of the Indus masterless and helpless. The fighting force, as usual in India, was hampered by a crowd of women, children, and camp followers. When it attempted to start on its long homeward march it was assailed by Sind rebels and Mongol banditti. Much baggage was lost, and the women and children perished. Fīrōz Shah, the first cousin of the deceased sovereign and governor of one-fourth of the kingdom, was then in the camp, but was unwilling to assert himself and occupy the seat of his terrible relative. The army endured utter misery for three days by reason of the want of guidance. Then all the chief men, Muslims and Hindus alike, decided that the only person who could deliver the expeditionary force from destruction was Fīrōz Shāh. Although he professed unwillingness to accept the responsibility of government, and probably was sincere in his reluctance, he was forced to ascend the throne and assume command. He was enthroned in the camp on March 23, 1351. The existence of a leader soon effected an improvement, and the new Sultan ultimately succeeded in bringing back the survivors of the army to Delhi through Multān and Dēbālpur.

¹ Ibn Batuta, transl. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, tome iii, pp. 217-42. The whole account, which is well worth reading, has not been translated at all in *E. & D.*; but some details from another and less authoritative author are given in vol. iii, pp. 575 foll. For Alāu-d dīn see Ziaū-d dīn Baranī in *E. & D.*, iii. 158.

A pretender. Meanwhile, Khwāja Jahān, the aged governor of Delhi, misled by an untrue report of Firōz Shāh's death, had set up as Sultan a child falsely alleged to be the son of Muhammad bin Tughlak. When Firōz Shāh approached the capital, Khwāja Jahān, finding resistance hopeless, surrendered. The Sultan wished to spare him, but his advisers insisted that high treason must meet its just punishment. The old man, accordingly, was executed. The late Sultan, as a matter of fact, had left no son, so that the enthronement of a supposititious child could not be justified.

Wars with Bengal. In 1353-4 (A.H. 754) Firōz Shāh engaged in a war with the king of Bengal which lasted for eleven months. The Bengal monarch was defeated in a battle, the locality of which is not clearly indicated. Firōz Shāh offered a silver *tanka* for each enemy head. If the historian may be believed the heads counted and paid for exceeded 180,000. The campaign had no result except the wanton slaughter thus evidenced. No territory was annexed and the practical independence of the eastern province continued unimpaired. Some years later the war with Bengal was renewed. After some fighting terms of peace were arranged, and from that time, about 1360 (A.H. 761), the independence of Bengal was uncontested. The Sultan was entangled on his return in the wild country of Chutiā Nāgpur and was not heard of for six months. Firōz Shāh made no attempt to recover his late cousin's dominions in the Deccan. On the contrary, he tacitly acknowledged the autonomy of the Bahmanī king by receiving an embassy from him, and he likewise received envoys from the ruler of Ma'abar.

Attacks on Sind. The Sultan sought to avenge his predecessor by making two attempts to subdue Thathah in Sind. On the first occasion, about 1361, he assembled 90,000 cavalry and 480 elephants. The result was disastrous. Supplies failed and all the horses perished. Under pressure of dire necessity retreat to Gujarāt was ordered. The army, misled, it was alleged, by treacherous guides, suffered unutterable misery in crossing the Runn of Cutch. For six months no news from it reached Delhi, and everybody believed that the Sultan had perished. Order was maintained by Khān Jahān, the resourceful minister in charge of the capital, and in due course the Sultan with the remnant of his army emerged in Gujarāt.

After receiving reinforcements and equipping a fresh force Firōz Shāh again advanced into Sind from Gujarāt. On this occasion the invaders secured the crops in time, with the result that the people of the country in their turn suffered from famine. When Thathah appeared to be seriously threatened the Jām with another chief surrendered, and accompanied Firōz Shāh to Delhi, where they took up their residence, apparently as hostages. A relative of theirs continued to rule at Thathah, so that the government of Delhi failed to secure any substantial benefit from two costly campaigns and a final nominal success.

MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

Personal tastes of Fīrōz Shāh. It seems to be plain that Fīrōz Shāh possessed no military capacity. His early campaigns both in the east and the west were absolutely futile, and during the greater part of his long reign he abstained from war. His personal tastes were wholly inconsistent with the pursuit of glory in the field. He was extremely devout, although he allowed himself the kingly privilege of drinking wine, and spent much time in hunting. He was fond of the study of history, and his master-passion was a love for building.

He followed the example of his predecessors, by building a new Delhi called Fīrōzābād, which included the site of Indarpat or Indraprastha, famous in epic legend. The two inscribed Asoka columns now standing near Delhi were brought there by order of Fīrōz Shāh, the one from Toprā in the Ambāla District, and the other from Meerut. The contemporary historian describes in interesting detail the ingenious devices used to ensure the safe transport and erection of the huge monoliths.

The Sultan also founded the cities of Hisār Fīrōza (Hissar, to NW. of Delhi), and of Jaunpur (to the NW. of Benares), making use in each case of earlier Hindu towns and buildings. He has left on record under his own hand a list of the principal works executed during his reign of thirty-seven years, comprising towns, forts, mosques, colleges, and many other buildings, besides embankments and canals. The canal constructed to supply Hisār Fīrōza with water was repaired in the reign of Shāhjahān and has been utilized in the alinement of the Western Jumna Canal. His chief architect was Malik Ghāzī Shahna, whose deputy was Abdul Hakk, also known as Jāhir Sundhār. Asiatic kings, as a rule, show no interest in buildings erected by their predecessors, which usually are allowed to decay uncared for. Fīrōz Shāh was peculiar in devoting much attention to the repair and rebuilding of 'the structures of former kings and ancient nobles . . . giving the restoration of those buildings the priority' over his own new constructions.

Internal administration. The internal administration of the country, as distinct from the Sultan's personal hobbies, was in the hands of Khān Jahān, the minister, a converted Hindu from Telingāna. When he died in 1370-1 (A.H. 772) his place was taken by his son, who assumed the same title of Khān Jahān, and conducted the government to the end of the reign. Sultan Alāu-d dīn, who had been in the habit of paying cash salaries to his officers, had disapproved of the system of payment by *jāgīrs*, or the assignment of lands and of the revenue which otherwise would be paid to the state, believing that that system tended to produce insubordination and rebellion. But Fīrōz Shāh and his advisers made the grant of *jāgīrs* the rule. Akbar reverted to cash payments from the treasury and direct official administration so far as was practicable.

Alleged prosperity. The statements of Ziāu-d dīn Baranī in praise of Fīrōz Shāh cannot be accepted without reserve. It is no doubt true that the Sultan 'made the laws of the Prophet

his guide', and desired to check oppression. But when we are told that

'the peasants grew rich and were satisfied . . . Their houses were replete with grain, property, horses, and furniture; every one had plenty of gold and silver; no woman was without her ornaments, and no house was wanting in excellent beds and couches. Wealth abounded and comforts were general. The whole realm of Delhi was blessed with the bounties of the Almighty':

the exaggeration of courtly flattery is obvious. The historian states that it had been the practice of previous Sultans to leave the peasant only one cow and take away all the rest. The milder rule of Firöz Shāh, although it certainly diminished the tyranny practised, cannot have produced a paradise.

Slave raiding. We are informed by the same author that

'the Sultan was very diligent in providing slaves, and he carried his care so far as to command his great fief-holders and officers to capture slaves whenever they were at war, and to pick out and send the best for the service of the court. . . . Those chiefs who brought many slaves received the highest favour. . . . About 12,000 slaves became artisans of various kinds. Forty thousand were every day in readiness to attend as guards in the Sultan's equipage or at the palace. Altogether, in the city and in the various fiefs, there were 180,000 slaves, for whose maintenance and comfort the Sultan took especial care. The institution took root in the very centre of the land, and the Sultan looked upon its due regulation as one of his incumbent duties.'

Such wholesale slave raiding clearly must have been the cause of much suffering, even though it be admitted that the slaves after capture were well treated. Sir Henry Elliot absurdly called Firöz Shāh 'this Akbar of his time', forgetting that Akbar at a very early date in his reign forbade the enslavement of prisoners of war. The slaves, of course, all became Musalmāns, and the proselytism thus effected probably was the chief reason why the Sultan favoured the system. After his death most of his slaves were killed by his successors. During his lifetime they must have been a strong bulwark of the throne.

Abolition of torture. We have the good fortune to possess a tract written by Firöz Shāh himself which enumerates his good deeds as he understood them to be. One reform, the abolition of mutilation and torture, deserves unqualified commendation, and the orders must have been acted on to a considerable extent during his lifetime. The enumeration of the 'many varieties of torture' employed under former kings is horrible:

'amputation of hands and feet, ears and noses; tearing out the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of the hands and feet with mallets, burning the body with fire, driving iron nails into the hands, feet, and bosom, cutting the sinews, sawing men asunder; these and many similar tortures were practised.

The great and merciful God made me, His servant, hope and seek for His mercy by devoting myself to prevent the unlawful killing of Musalmāns and the infliction of any kind of torture upon them or upon any men.'

Intolerance. But Fīrōz Shāh could be fierce when his religious fanaticism was roused. He records the following facts :

‘The sect of Shīas, also called *Rawāfiz*, had endeavoured to make proselytes. . . . I seized them all and I convicted them of their errors and perversions. On the most zealous I inflicted capital punishment (*siyāsat*), and the rest I visited with censure (*tāzīr*), and threats of public punishment. Their books I burnt in public and by the grace of God the influence of this sect was entirely suppressed.’

An immoral sect, which followed obscene practices, resembling those of certain Hindu Sāktas, was dealt with in a drastic fashion, which had more justification than his treatment of the Shīas.

‘I cut off the heads of the elders of this sect, and imprisoned and banished the rest, so that their abominable practices were put an end to.’

He caused the ‘doctors learned in the holy Law’ to slay a man who claimed to be the Mahdī, ‘and for this good action’, he wrote, ‘I hope to receive future reward’.

He was much shocked on hearing of the erection of certain new Hindu temples.

‘Under divine guidance I destroyed these edifices, and I killed those leaders of infidelity who seduced others into error, and the lower orders I subjected to stripes and chastisement, until this abuse was entirely abolished.’

He went in person to a certain village named Malūh, apparently near Delhi, where a religious fair was being held, which was attended even by ‘some graceless Musalmāns’.

‘I ordered that the leaders of these people and the promoters of this abomination should be put to death. I forbade the infliction of any severe punishment on the Hindus in general, but I destroyed their idol temples and instead thereof raised mosques.’

He caused certain Hindus of Kohāna who had built a new temple to be executed before the gate of the palace, ‘as a warning that no *zimmi* [*scil.* non-Muslim paying the *jizya* as the price of his life] could follow such wicked practices in a Musalmān country’.

The historian witnessed the burning alive of a Brahman who had practised his rites in public.

Those unquestionable facts prove that Fīrōz Shāh carried on the savage tradition of the early invaders, and believed that he served God by treating as a capital crime the public practice of their religion by the vast majority of his subjects. He was far indeed from sharing the views held by Akbar in middle and later life, although that sovereign in the early years of his reign had followed to some extent the precedent set by Fīrōz Shāh.

Bought conversions. The Sultan continues :

‘I encouraged my infidel subjects to embrace the religion of the prophet, and I proclaimed that every one who repeated the creed and became a Musalmān should be exempt from the *jizya* or poll-tax. Information of this came to the ears of the people at large, and great numbers of Hindus presented themselves, and were admitted to the honour of Islām. Thus they came forward day by day from every quarter, and, adopting the faith,

were exonerated from the *jizya*, and were favoured with presents and honours.'

Such was the origin of a large part of the existing Muhammadan population. Several other sovereigns continued the process of conversion by bribery.

The *jizya*. The *jizya* in Delhi was assessed in three grades; namely, 1st class, 40 *tankas*; 2nd class, 20 *tankas*; 3rd class, 10 *tankas*. In former reigns Brahmans had been excused. Fīrōz Shāh, after consultation with his learned lawyers, resolved to include them. The Brahmans assembled, and fasted near his new palace on the Ridge for several days until they were at the point of death. The difficulty thus threatened was compromised by the assessment of a reduced all-round rate on Brahmans of 10 *tankas* and 50 *jaitals*. The silver *tankah* of 175 grains was worth a little less than the later rupee of 180 grains.¹



A *jaital*.

Credit due to the Sultan. Fīrōz Shāh, when due allowance is made for his surroundings and education, could not have escaped from the theory and practice of bigoted intolerance. It was not possible for him in his age to rise, as Akbar did, to the conception that the ruler of Hindostan should cherish all his subjects alike, whether Musalmān and Hindu, and allow every man absolute freedom, not only of conscience, but of public worship. The Muslims of the fourteenth century were still dominated by the ideas current in the early days of Islām, and were convinced that the tolerance of idolatry was a sin. Fīrōz Shāh, whatever may have been his defects or weaknesses, deserves much credit for having mitigated in some respects the horrible practice of his predecessors, and for having introduced some tincture of humane feeling into the administration. He was naturally a kind charitable man, and his good deeds included the foundation of a hospital.

Death of Fīrōz Shāh in 1388. Anarchy. Fīrōz Shāh, who had been forty-two years of age when called to the throne, lost capacity for affairs as the infirmities of advancing years increased. Experiments made in the way of associating his sons with himself in the government were not successful, and his minister, the younger Khān Jahān, was tempted to engage in treasonable practices. In September 1388 the old Sultan died, aged about eighty. The government fell into utter confusion. A series of puppet sultans, all equally wanting in personal merit, pass rapidly across the stage. The kingdom, in fact, ceased to exist, and the governor of every province assumed practical independence. For



Coin of Fīrōz Shāh.

¹ Thomas, *Chronicles*, pp. 218 n., 219 n., 232, 281 n. 64 *jaitals* made one *tankah* in the fourteenth century. A Brahman, consequently, paid about ten rupees a year. The coin No. 207 of Thomas shows that the word جیتال should be vocalized as *jaital*.

about three years, from 1394 to 1397, two rival Sultans had to find room within the precincts of the Delhi group of cities. Sultan Mahmūd, a boy grandson of Fīrōz Shāh, was recognized as king in Old Delhi, while his relative Nusrat Shāh claimed similar rank in Fīrōzābād a few miles distant.

‘Day by day, battles were fought between these two kings, who were like the two kings in the game of chess.’

It is not worth while to either remember or record the unmeaning struggles between the many rival claimants to a dishonoured throne.

Mahmūd and his competitor, Nusrat Shāh, were the last of the series of nominal Sultans who filled up the interval between the death of Fīrōz Shāh in 1388 and the invasion of Tīmūr ten years later.

Invasion of Tīmūr, 1398. Amīr Tīmūr (Tīmūr-i-lang, the Tamerlane or Tamburlaine of English literature) was a Barlās Turk, whose father was one of the earliest converts to Islām. Born in 1336 Tīmūr attained the throne of Samarkand in 1369, and then entered on a career of distant conquests, rivalling those of Chingiz Khān, whom he equalled in ferocity and cruelty, although he was a Musalmān and equipped with considerable knowledge of Muslim lore. He died in 1405, when meditating the conquest of China and looking forward with eager anticipation to the slaughter of millions of unbelievers. He needed no formal pretext for his attack on India. The feebleness of the government, the reputed wealth of the country, and the fact that most of the inhabitants were idolaters offered more than sufficient inducement to undertake the conquest.

Early in 1398 one of his grandsons, commanding an advanced guard, laid siege to Multān, and captured it after six months. In the autumn Tīmūr himself crossed the Indus, with a large cavalry force, said to number 90,000; sacked Tulamba, to the north-east of Multān, massacring or enslaving the inhabitants. Near Pānīpat, where Mahmūd Tughlak essayed to oppose him, the invader won an easy victory. He then occupied Delhi and was proclaimed king. Some resistance by the inhabitants provoked a general massacre. Previously nearly 100,000 prisoners had been slain in cold blood. The city was thoroughly plundered for five days, all the accumulated wealth of generations being carried off to Samarkand, along with a multitude of women and other captives. Tīmūr was careful to bring away all the skilled artisans he could find to be employed on the buildings at his capital.

He had no intention of staying in India. He returned through Meerut, storming that city, and slaying everybody. He then visited Hardwār, and marching along the foot of the mountains, where it was easy to cross the rivers, quitted India as he had come by the way of the Panjāb, ‘leaving anarchy, famine, and pestilence behind him’.

The so-called Sayyids. The appalling atrocities of Tīmūr’s raid, which have been barely indicated in the preceding paragraphs, destroyed all semblance of government in Upper India. The rest

of the country, of course, remained wholly unaffected by it, and it is probable that many kingdoms hardly knew that the invasion had occurred. No regular Sultan's government was established at Delhi until more than half a century after Timūr's departure. From 1414 to 1450 the affairs of the city and a very small territory adjoining were administered, first by Khizr Khān, who had been governor of the Panjāb, and then by three of his successors. Those princes, who never assumed the royal style or struck coins in their own names, professed to regard themselves as Timūr's deputies.¹ They pretended to be Sayyids, and consequently are described in the history text-books as the Sayyid dynasty. Their insignificant doings do not merit further notice. The last of the line, named Alāu-d dīn, was allowed to retire to Budāon, where he lived in peace for many years.

Sultan Bahlōl Lodī. Bahlōl Khān, an Afghan of the Lodī tribe, who had become governor of the Panjāb and independent of Delhi, seized the throne in 1450, and was proclaimed Sultan. He engaged in a war with the king of Jaunpur in the east, that kingdom having thrown off its allegiance during the anarchy following on Timūr's invasion; and when he died had succeeded in dispossessing Husain Shāh, the king of Jaunpur, and in replacing him by his own son Bārbak Shāh as viceroy. He may be said to have recovered a certain amount of control over territory extending from the foot of the mountains to Benares, and as far south as the borders of Bundēlkhand.

Pathān Kings of Delhi. Many authors, including some who should have known better, erroneously call all the Sultans of Delhi from 1206 to 1450 Pathāns or Afghans. In reality Bahlōl Lodī was the first Pathān or Afghan Sultan. The only other Afghan rulers in Delhi were the Sūr family of Shēr Shāh, who disputed the kingdom with Humāyūn and Akbar. All historical errors are hard to kill. I do not know any error which has shown more vitality than the false designation 'Pathān Kings of Delhi' applied to Turks and people of all sorts.

Sikandar Lodī. The nobles promptly chose Nizām Khān, a son of Bahlōl, as his father's successor. He assumed the royal style of Sultan Sikandar Ghāzī (1489). The principal political event of his reign was the expulsion of his brother Bārbak Shāh from Jaunpur, and the definite annexation of that kingdom. The Sultan also annexed Bihār and levied tribute from Tīrhūt. The reader must understand that in those days 'annexation' meant no more than an extremely lax control over the Afghan military chiefs of districts, who were compelled by superior force to yield temporary and imperfect obedience to the Sultan of Delhi.

Muhammadian authors speak well of Sultan Sikandar, who was a furious bigot. He entirely ruined the shrines of Mathurā, converting the buildings to Muslim uses, and generally was extremely

¹ E. Thomas proved that Firishta was mistaken in asserting that the so-called Sayyids struck coin in the name of Timūr. The coins they issued bore the names of the regular Sultans of Delhi who preceded them.

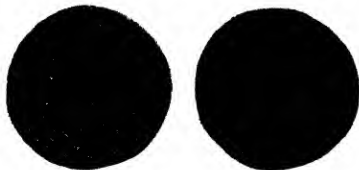
hostile to Hinduism. He strictly followed Koranic law, and was a careful, scrupulous ruler, within the limits of his excessive bigotry. He took a special interest in medical lore. His reign was remarkable for the prevalence of exceptionally low prices for both food and other things, so that 'small means enabled their possessor to live comfortably'.

Agra, which had been ruined by Sultan Mahmūd of Ghaznī, and had sunk into insignificance, was improved by Sultan Sikandar, who generally resided there. Sikandara, where Akbar's tomb stands, is named after the Lodī monarch.

A terrible earthquake, extending to Persia, occurred in 1505, and did much damage in northern India. But the historians, as usual, fail to give any particulars, confining their efforts at description to piling up adjectives.

Sikandar died a natural death at the close of 1517.

The kingdom of Jaunpur. It will be convenient to notice briefly in this place the history of the short-lived kingdom of



Coin of Ibrāhīm of Jaunpur.

Jaunpur, the relations of which with the Lodī Sultans supplied the most important political events of their reigns. The foundation of the Muhammadan city of Jaunpur by Fīrōz Shāh Tughlak has been mentioned. In 1394 Mahmūd Tughlak appointed a powerful eunuch noble entitled Khwāja Jahān to be 'Lord of the East'

(*Maliku-sh shark*) with his head-quarters at Jaunpur. In those days the control exercised by Delhi was so feeble that every provincial governor was practically independent. After the violence of Timur had shattered the Delhi government in 1398, Khwāja Jahān's adopted son seized the opportunity and set up as an independent king with the style of Mubārak Shāh Sharkī (*scil.* Eastern), in 1399.

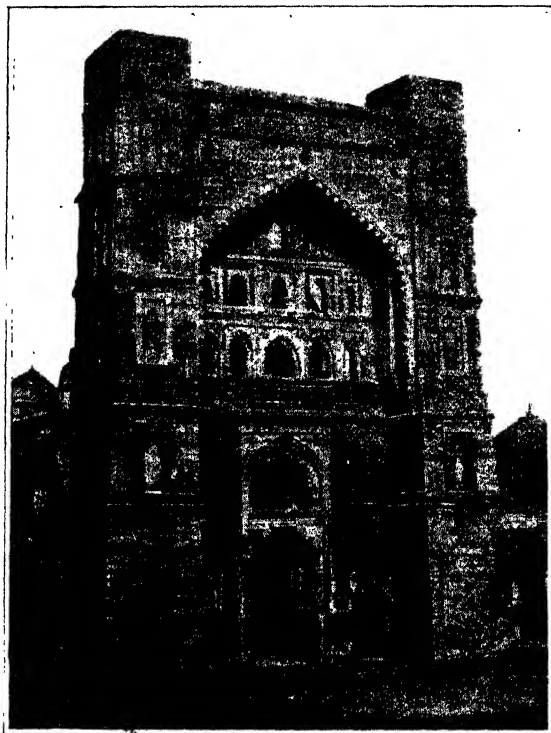
The newly-made king was quickly succeeded in 1400 by his younger brother Ibrāhīm, who reigned prosperously for forty years. Like Sikandar Lodī he was a bigoted Musalmān, and 'a steady, if not bloody persecutor'. He won the approval of the historians who shared his religious sentiments, but, as usual, the other side of the case is not on record. Ibrāhīm's son Mahmūd also is spoken of as a successful ruler. Husain Shāh, the last independent king, was overcome by Bahlōl Lodī in or about 1476, and driven to take refuge with his namesake of Bengal.

The expedient attempted at the beginning of Sikandar Lodī's reign of leaving Jaunpur to his elder brother Bārbak Shāh in full sovereignty was a failure, and led to war, in which Delhi was successful.

The experiment, when repeated at the time of Ibrāhīm Lodī's accession, again failed. Jalāl Khān, Ibrāhīm's brother, who had been set up as king of Jaunpur, was defeated and killed. From

that time the 'Kingdom of the East' no longer pretended to an independent existence. It may be considered to have come to an end in or about 1476, when Bahlāl Lodī expelled his brother Bārbak Shāh.

All the members of the Jaunpur dynasty were patrons of Persian and Arabic literature. Their principal memorial is the group of



ATĀLA DEVĪ MOSQUE, JAUNPUR.

noble mosques at Jaunpur, designed in a peculiar style, including many Hindu features. The buildings are unusually massive, have no minarets, and are characterized by stately gateways with sloping walls. The mosques date from the reigns of Ibrāhīm, Mahmūd, and Husain Shāh.

Ibrāhīm Lodī. The new Sultan, Ibrāhīm, who succeeded his father Sikandar, could not succeed in keeping on good terms with his Afghan nobles, and his reign was mostly occupied by conflicts with them. When he was victorious he took cruel vengeance.

Ultimately the discontent of the Afghan chiefs resulted in an invitation being sent by Daulat Khān Lodī to Bābur, the King or Pādshāh of Kābul. Bābur, after several indecisive incursions, started on his final invasion in November 1525; and on April 21, 1526, inflicted on Sultan Ibrāhīm a crushing defeat at Pānīpat, which cost him his throne and life. The battle will be described in connexion with the reign of the victor.

Low prices. The reign of Ibrāhīm was even more remarkable than that of his father for the extreme lowness of prices, due partly to copious rain followed by abundant harvests, and largely to the want of metallic currency. We are told that 'gold and silver were only procurable with the greatest difficulty', and that sellers were ready to offer most extravagant quantities of produce for cash. 'If a traveller wished to proceed from Delhi to Agra, one *bahlōlī* would suffice for the expenses of himself, his horse, and four attendants.'¹

The coin referred to appears to be the piece weighing about 140 grains, composed of billon or mixed copper and silver in varying proportions. The most valuable pieces cannot have been worth more than two or three pence each. Tīmūr's invasion, apparently, must have produced tremendous economic effects, which have been very imperfectly recorded. Gold and silver seem to have been still abundant in the time



A *bahlōlī*.

of Firōz Shāh Tughlak, before Tīmūr's operations.

The Sultanate of Delhi. The bloodstained annals of the Sultanate of Delhi, extending over nearly three centuries and a quarter (1206–1526), are not pleasant reading. They do not repay minute study in detail, except for special purposes. The episodes of Chingiz Khān and Tīmūr are filled with sickening horrors, and the reigns of several Sultans offer little but scenes of bloodshed, tyranny, and treachery. All the Sultans without exception were fierce bigots. Even Firōz Shāh Tughlak, who exhibited a certain amount of kindly humanity, and felt some desire to do good to his people, was by no means free from the savage intolerance of his contemporaries.

Many of the Sultans, including the most ferocious, had nice taste in the refinements of Arabic and Persian literature. They liked to be surrounded by men learned in the peculiar lore of Islām, and were liberal patrons of the accomplishments which interested them.

They introduced into India several new styles of architecture, based primarily on the model of buildings at Mecca, Damascus, and other cities of the Muslim world, but profoundly modified by Hindu influences. The innumerable Hindu buildings overthrown supplied materials for the new mosques and colleges, for the construction of which the conquerors were compelled to utilize

¹ Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 360; *E. & D.*, iv. 476.

the services of Indian craftsmen. The buildings of the Sultanate consequently display characteristics which distinguish them readily from the Muslim edifices in other parts of the world. Numerous authors group all the styles of architecture during the period of the Sultanate under the term 'Pathān', a most inappropriate and misleading designation. Bahlōl Lodī, who came to the throne in the middle of the fifteenth century, was the first Pathān ruler of Delhi, and his dynasty consisting of three members (1451-1526) was the only Pathān line of Sultans. The Sūr family of Shēr Shāh, who enjoyed a certain amount of contested and precarious power as rulers of Hindostan from 1542 to 1556, also were Pathāns or Afghans, but they cannot be reckoned properly in the succession of Sultans. No such thing as a Pathān style of architecture ever existed. Several distinct styles current in different localities and at various times during the period of the Sultanate may be distinguished, but the subject is too technical for further notice in this place.

Causes of Muslim success. The Muhammadan invaders undoubtedly were superior to their Hindu opponents in fighting power and so long as they remained uncorrupted by wealth and luxury were practically invincible. The explanation of their success, already briefly discussed in relation to the earliest campaigns, is not far to seek. The men came from a cool climate in hilly regions, and were for the most part heavier and physically stronger than their opponents. Their flesh diet as compared with the vegetarian habits prevalent in India, combined with their freedom from the restrictions of caste rules concerning food, tended to develop the kind of energy required by an invading force. Their fierce fanaticism, which regarded the destruction of millions of non-Muslims as a service eminently pleasing to God, made them absolutely pitiless, and consequently far more terrifying than the ordinary enemies met in India. While they employed every kind of frightfulness to terrify the Indians, they were themselves ordinarily saved from fear by their deep conviction that a Ghāzī—a slayer of an infidel—if he should happen to be killed himself, went straight to all the joys of an easily intelligible paradise, winning at the same time undying fame as a martyr. The courage of the invaders was further stimulated by the consciousness that no retreat was open to them. They must either subdue utterly by sheer force the millions confronting their thousands or be completely destroyed. No middle course was available. The enormous wealth in gold, silver, and jewels, not to mention more commonplace valuables, accumulated in the temples, palaces, and towns of India fired their imagination and offered the most splendid conceivable rewards for valour. The Hindu strategy and tactics were old-fashioned, based on ancient text-books, which took no account of foreign methods; and the unity of command on the Indian side was always more or less hampered by tribal, sectarian, and caste divisions. Each horde of the foreigners, on the contrary, obeyed a single leader in the field,

and the commanders knew how to make use of shock tactics, that is to say, well-directed cavalry charges, which rarely failed to scatter the Hindu hosts. Elephants, on which Hindu tradition placed excessive reliance, proved to be useless, or worse than useless, when pitted against well-equipped, active cavalry. The Hindu cavalry does not seem to have attained a high standard of efficiency in most parts of the country.

Thus it happened that the Muslims, although insignificant in numbers when compared with the vast Indian population, usually secured easy victories, and were able to keep in subjection for centuries enormous multitudes of Hindus.

Nature of the Sultans' government. Bengal, after it had been overrun by a few parties of horsemen at the close of the twelfth century, remained for ages under the heel of foreign chiefs who were sometimes Afghans, and the province never escaped from Musalmān rule until it passed under British control. The wars with Bengal of which we read during the period of the Sultanate were concerned only with the claim preferred by Delhi to receive homage and tribute from the Muslim rulers of Bengal. Those rulers, in their turn, often seem to have left Hindu Rājās undisturbed in their principalities, subject to the payment of tribute with greater or less regularity. Indeed the same practice necessarily prevailed over a large part of the Muslim dominions. Some sort of civil government had to be carried on, and the strangers had not either the numbers or the capacity for civil administration except in a limited area. The Sultans left no fruitful ideas or valuable institutions behind them. Alāu-d dīn Khiljī, an unlettered savage, issued, it is true, many regulations, but they were ill-founded and died with him.

The government both at head-quarters and in the provinces was an arbitrary despotism, practically unchecked except by rebellion and assassination. A strong autocrat, like Alāu-d dīn, never allowed legal scruples to hamper his will, and Muhammad bin Tughlak, who professed reverence for the sacred law, was the worst tyrant of them all. The succession to the throne usually was effected by means of an irregular election conducted by military chiefs, and the person chosen to be Sultan was not necessarily a relative of his predecessor.

Islām in Indian life. The permanent establishment of Muhammadan governments at Delhi and many other cities, combined with the steady growth of a settled resident Muslim population forming a ruling class in the midst of a vastly more numerous Hindu population, necessarily produced immense changes in India. The Muhammadan element increased continually in three ways, namely, by immigration from beyond the north-western frontier, by conversions, whether forcible or purchased, and by birth. In modern times statistics prove that Muhammadans in India tend to multiply more rapidly than Hindus, and the same ratio probably held good in the days of the Sultanate. We do not possess any statistics concerning the growth of the Muhammadan

population in any of the three ways mentioned, but we know that it occurred in all the ways. It was impossible that the presence of a strange element so large should not bring about important modifications of Indian life.

Strength of Muhammadan religion. The Muhammadans were not absorbed into the Indian caste system of Hinduism as their foreign predecessors, the Sakas, Huns, and others, had been absorbed in the course of a generation or two. The definiteness of the religion of Islām, founded on a written revelation of known date, preserved its votaries from the fate which befell the adherents of Shamanism and the other vague religions of Central Asia. When the Sakas, Huns, and the rest of the early immigrants settled in India and married Hindu women they merged in the Hindu caste system with extraordinary rapidity, chiefly because they possessed no religion sufficiently definite to protect them against the power of the Brahmans. The Muslim with his Korān and his Prophet was in a different position. He believed in his intelligible religion with all his heart, maintained against all comers the noble doctrine of the unity of God, and heartily despised the worshippers of many gods, with their idols and ceremonies. The Muhammadan settlers consequently regarded themselves, whether rich or poor, as a superior race, and ordinarily kept apart so far as possible from social contact with the idolaters. But, in course of time, the barrier was partially broken down. One cause which promoted a certain degree of intercourse was the necessity of continuing the employment of unconverted Hindus in clerkships and a host of minor official posts which the Musalmāns could not fill themselves. Another was the large number of conversions effected either by fear of the sword or by purchase. The Hindus thus nominally converted retained most of their old habits and connexions. Even now their descendants are often half-Hindu in their mode of life.

Evolution of Urdū. The various necessities which forced the Muhammadans and Hindus to meet each other involved the evolution of a common language. Some Muhammadans learned Hindi and even wrote in it, as Malik Muhammad of Jāis did in the time of Humāyūn. Multitudes of Hindus must have acquired some knowledge of Persian. A convenient compromise between the two languages resulted in the formation of Urdū, the camp language, the name being derived from the Turkī word *urdū*, 'camp', the original form of the English word 'horde'. Urdū is a Persianized form of Western Hindī, as spoken especially in the neighbourhood of Delhi. Its grammar and structure continue to be Hindī in the main, while the words are largely Persian. The language of Persia after the Muhammadan conquest became filled with Arabic words, which, consequently, are numerous in Urdū. No definite date can be assigned to the beginnings of Urdū, which shades off into Hindī by insensible gradations, but it is certain that during the Sultanate period the evolution of a language intelligible to both the conquerors and the conquered went on unceasingly. Urdū gradually became the vernacular of

Indian Muhammadans and developed a literature. Many Hindi words occur in the writings of Amīr or Mīr Khusrū, who died in 1325, and is sometimes reckoned as a writer of Urdū.

Modification of Hindu religion. The introduction of the religion of the Prophet as a permanent factor in the life of India could not but modify the notions of Hindu thinkers. Although it is hardly necessary to observe that the idea of the unity of God always has been and still is familiar to even uneducated Hindus, it seems to be true that the prominence given to that doctrine by Muslim teaching encouraged the rise of religious schools which sought for a creed capable of expressing Muhammadan and Hindu devotion alike.

Rāmānand and Kabīr. The most famous teacher whose doctrine was the basis of such schools was Rāmānand, who lived in the fourteenth century, and came from the south. He preached in Hindī and admitted people of all castes, or of no caste, to his order. He had twelve apostles or chief disciples, who included a Rājput, a currier, a barber, and a Muhammadan weaver, namely, Kabīr. The verses of Kabīr, which are still familiar in northern India, show clear traces of Muhammadan influence. He condemned the worship of idols and the institution of caste. Both Musalmāns and Hindus are included among his followers, who are known as Kabīrpanthīs, or 'travellers on the way of Kabīr', who claimed to be 'at once the child of Allāh and of Rām'.

A few stanzas may be quoted to prove how Hinduism and Islām reacted one upon the other in the days of the Lodī Sultans :

I

O Servant, where dost thou seek Me ? Lo ! I am beside thee.
I am neither in temple nor in mosque ; I am neither in Kaaba nor in
Kailash :
Neither am I in rites and ceremonies, nor in Yoga and renunciation.
If thou art a true seeker, thou shalt at once see Me : thou shalt meet
Me in a moment of time.
Kabīr says, ' O Sadhu ! God is the breath of all breath.'

II

It is needless to ask of a saint the caste to which he belongs ;
For the priest, the warrior, the tradesman, and all the thirty-six castes,
alike are seeking for God.
It is but folly to ask what the caste of a saint may be ;
The barber has sought God, the washer-woman, and the carpenter—
Even Raidas was a seeker after God.
The Rishi Swapacha was a tanner by caste.
Hindus and Moslems alike have achieved that End, where remains no
mark of distinction.

XLII

There is nothing but water at the holy bathing places ; and I know that
they are useless, for I have bathed in them.
The images are all lifeless, they cannot speak ; I know, for I have cried
aloud to them.

The Purana and the Koran are mere words ; lifting up the curtain, I have seen.

Kabir gives utterance to the words of experience ; and he knows very well that all other things are untrue.¹

Such teaching is closely akin to that of the Persian mystics, Jalālu-d dīn Rūmī, Hāfiz, and the rest, whose doctrine was embraced in the sixteenth century by Abū-l Fazl and Akbar. Kabīr is the spiritual ancestor of Nānak, the founder of the Sikh sect.

Dr. Farquhar truly observes that

‘ it is a most extraordinary fact that the theology of Kabir was meant to unite Hindus and Muhammadans in the worship of the one God ; yet the most implacable hatred arose between the Sikhs and the Muhammadans ; and from that hatred came the Khālsā, the Sikh military order, which created the fiercest enemies the Mughal emperors had. It is also most noteworthy that caste has found its way back into every Hindu sect that has disowned it.’²

Seclusion of women. Although ancient Indian literature, such as the *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya, alludes occasionally to the practice of the seclusion of women, many records indicate that the seclusion, even among the wealthy and leisured classes, although practised, was less strict than it is now in most parts of India. The example of the dominant Muslims, combined with the desire of the Hindus to give the female members of their families every possible protection against the foreigners, has made the practice of living ‘ behind the curtain ’ both more fashionable and more widely prevalent than it used to be in ancient times.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE SULTANATE, 1290-1526

The Khiljī (Khalj) Dynasty

JALĀLU-D DĪN (FĪRŪZ SHĀH)	acc. 1290
Famine	1291
Mongol inroad	1292
Annexation of Ellichpur (Ilichpur)	1294
ALĀU-D DĪN, acc. ; murder of Jalālu-d dīn	1296
Conquest of Gujarāt	1297-8
Mongol invasions	1297-1305
Massacre of Mongols at Delhi	? 1298
Southern campaigns of Malik Kāfūr	1302-11
Sack of Chitōr	1303
KUTBU-D DĪN MUBĀRAK	acc. Jan. 1315
Destruction of Harpāl Dēo Yādava	1318
[Khusrū Khān, usurper, &c.]	1318-20

¹ *One Hundred Poems of Kabir*. Translated by Rabindranath Tagore, assisted by Evelyn Underhill. Published by the India Society, London, at the Chiswick Press, 1914. Miss Underhill dates Kabir from about 1440 to 1518. He used to be placed between 1380 and 1420.

² *Primer of Hinduism*, 2nd ed., Oxford University Press, 1912, p. 138.

The Tughlak Dynasty

GHIYĀSU-D DĪN TUGHLAK SHĀH (Ghāzi Malik)	acc. 1321
Wars in Bengal and Deccan	about 1321-4
MUHAMMAD ĀDIL BIN TUGHLAK (Fakhrū-d dīn Jūnā, also styled Ulugh Khān)	Feb. 1325
Evacuation of Delhi; foundation of Daulatābād	1326-7
Forced currency of brass and copper for silver	1329-32
Expedition against China	1337-8
Revolt of Bengal and Ma'abar	1338-9
General break-up of empire began about	1340
Prolonged famine for several years began	1342
Vijayanagar a powerful kingdom	1346
Bahmanī kingdom of the Deccan founded	1347
The Sultan in Gujarāt and Sind	1347-51
FĪRŌZ SHĀH TUGHLAK	acc. 1351
War in Bengal	1353-4
Attacks on Sind	about 1360-2
Death of Fīrōz Shāh	Sept. 1388

Break up of the Sultanate

Sundry insignificant princes, MAHMUD TUGHLAK, &c.	1388-98
Invasion of TIMŪR	1398
Independence of Jaunpur	1399
Anarchy	1399-1414
The so-called SAYYIDS at Delhi and neighbourhood	1414-50

The Lodī Dynasty

SULTAN BAHĀLŪL LODĪ	acc. 1450
Recovery of Jaunpur	about 1476
SULTAN SIKANDAR LODĪ	acc. 1489
Earthquake in Hindostan and Persia	1505
SULTAN IBRĀHĪM LODĪ	acc. 1517
First battle of Pānipat, defeat and death of Ibrāhīm; end of the Sultanate	1526

AUTHORITIES

The leading authority for the Khilji and Tughlak dynasties is the *Tārīkh-i Fīrōz Shāhī* by Ziaū-d dīn Baranī in *E. & D.*, iii. For the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlak I have made large use of Ibn Batuta's travels, translated into French by Defrémery and Sanguinetti (with Arabic text), Paris, 1853-8. Part of that work has been rendered into English in *E. & D.*, vol. iv, App. The English translation of the *Travels* by Lee (Or. Trans. Fund, 1829) is not much good, having been made from an imperfect manuscript. Other authors will be found in *E. & D.*, iv; and, of course, Firishṭa, Badāonī, &c., give abstracts. The history of Timūr's invasion, from his own *Memoirs* and other sources, is in *E. & D.*, iv, and the Lodī history in vol. v. I have also found E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, useful, but the whole period needs critical examination in detail. The exact dates often are uncertain. For Kabīr see text ed. by Rev. Ahmad Shah, Cawnpore, 1911; and excellent transl. by same, Hamīrpur, 1917.

CHAPTER 4

The Muhammadan kingdoms of Bengal, Mālwa, Gujarāt, and Kashmīr.

Scope of this chapter. Although it is impossible in the course of a general survey of Indian history to delineate in detail the story of each outlying kingdom, it is necessary for the completion of the picture to draw a sketch of the prominent events which happened in the more important of such kingdoms. The history of the Muhammadan Bahmanī kingdom or empire of the Deccan, founded in 1347, which possesses features of special interest; the complicated affairs of the five kingdoms erected on the ruins of the Bahmanī empire; and the history of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar will be narrated in Book V. The short-lived kingdom of Jaunpur has been already dealt with. This chapter will be devoted to a summary notice of the more interesting passages in the histories of the Muhammadan kingdoms of Bengal, Mālwa, Gujarāt, and Kashmīr, during the period of the Delhi Sultanate. No attempt will be made to write a series of consecutive narratives.

Bengal

The independence of Bengal, that is to say, the definite separation of the Muhammadan provincial government from the Sultanate of Delhi, may be dated from 1340, as the result of Fakhru-d dīn's rebellion against the tyranny of Muhammad bin Tughlak. A few years later Fīrōz Shāh Tughlak practically renounced all claim to the suzerainty of Delhi over the revolted province, which continued under a separate government until 1576, when Akbar's generals defeated and killed Dāūd Shāh, the last of the Afghan kings. The vicissitudes of the various dynasties which ruled Bengal between 1340 and 1526, when the Śūltanate of Delhi came to an end, present few events of intrinsic importance, or such as the memory readily retains. The wars, rebellions, and assassinations which usually fill so large a space in the histories of Muslim dynasties become almost unreadable when the drama is presented on a purely provincial stage isolated from the doings of the larger world. The story of the independent Muhammadan kings of Bengal seldom offers any points of contact with that world, even within the limits of India. The province ordinarily went its own way, apparently disregarding and disregarded by all other kingdoms, except for certain wars on its frontiers. Very little is known at present concerning the condition of the huge Hindu population during the period in question, that population being almost wholly ignored by the historians writing in Persian. Bengālī scholars are, it is understood, engaged on researches which may throw some light on the inner history of the province during the Sultanate, but the results of their labours are not yet easily accessible.

Husain Shāh. The best and most famous of the Muhammadan Kings of Bengal was Husain Shāh (Alāu-d dīn Husain Shāh,

A. D. 1493–1519), a Sayyid of Arab descent who had held the office of vizier or prime minister under a tyrant named Shamsu-d dīn Muzaḥfar Shāh. When the tyrant was deposed and killed the chiefs unanimously elected Husain Shāh to be their sovereign. He justified their choice. His name is still familiar throughout Bengal; and no insurrection or rebellion occurred during his reign, which lasted for twenty-four years. He died at Gaur, having ‘enjoyed a peaceable and happy reign, beloved by his subjects, and respected by his neighbours’.

He hospitably received his namesake the fugitive king of Jaunpur.

Nusrat Shāh. Husain Shāh left eighteen sons, the eldest of whom, Nusrat Shāh, was elected by the chiefs as his successor. Nusrat Shāh departed from the usual custom of Asia in regard to his brothers, whom he treated with affection and liberality. He occupied Tirhūt, and arranged with Bābur honourable terms of peace. He is said to have become a cruel tyrant during his latter years.

Buildings. The mosques of Gaur and the other old cities of Bengal were constructed almost entirely of brick and in a peculiar style. At Gaur the tomb of Husain Shāh and the Lesser Golden Mosque built in his reign, with the Great Golden Mosque and the Kadam Rasūl built by Nusrat Shāh may be mentioned as being specially noteworthy. The huge Ādina mosque at Pandua, twenty miles from Gaur, built by Sikandar Shāh in 1368, has about four hundred small domes, and is considered to be the most remarkable building in Bengal. The vast ruins of Gaur are estimated to occupy from twenty to thirty square miles.

Hindu literature. The learned historian of Bengālī literature states that the most popular book in Bengal is the translation of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyana* made by Krittivāsa, who was born in A. D. 1346. It may be called the Bible of Bengal, where it occupies a position like that held in the upper provinces by the later work of Tulsī Dās. Some of the Muhammadan kings were not indifferent to the merits of Hindu literature. A Bengālī version of the *Mahābhārata* was prepared to the order of Nusrat Shāh, who thus anticipated the similar action of Akbar. An earlier version of the same poem is believed to date from the fourteenth century, and another was composed in the time of Husain Shāh, by command of his general, Parāgal Khān. ‘Frequent references are found in old Bengālī literature indicating the esteem and trust in which the Emperor Husen Sāhā was held by the Hindus.’ In fact, it seems to be true that ‘the patronage and favour of the Muhammadan emperors and chiefs gave the first start towards the recognition of Bengālī in the courts of the Hindu Rājās’, who, under the guidance of their Brahman teachers, were more inclined to encourage Sanskrit.¹

¹ Dinesh Chandra Sen, *History of the Bengālī Language and Literature*, Calcutta University, 1911, pp. 12, 14, 170, 184, 201, 208.

Mālwa

Mālwa (Mālava), the extensive region now included for the most part in the Central India Agency, and lying between the Narbadā on the south, the Chambal on the north, Gujarāt on the west, and Bundēlkhand on the east, had been the seat of famous kingdoms in the Hindu period. Itutmish raided the country early in the thirteenth century. In 1310 it was brought more or less into subjection by an officer of Alāu-d dīn Khiljī, and thereafter continued to be ruled by Muslim governors until the break-up of the Sultanate of Delhi.

The Ghōrī Dynasty. Shortly after Tīmūr's invasion in 1398 the governor, a descendant of the great Sultan, Shihābu-d dīn Muhammad of Ghōr, set up as king on his own account under the style of Sultan Shihābu-d dīn Ghōrī (1401). He had enjoyed his new rank for only four years, when he died suddenly, probably having been poisoned by his eldest son. The independent kingdom thus founded lasted for a hundred and thirty years from 1401 until 1531, when it was annexed by Gujarāt. Four years later Humāyūn brought the country temporarily under the dominion of Delhi, but it did not become finally part of the Mogul empire until the early years of Akbar's reign (1561-4). The political annals of the Muhammadan kingdom present few features of permanent interest, and the Sultans are now remembered chiefly for their magnificent buildings at Māndū.

The first capital of the new kingdom was Dhār, where Rājā Bhoja had once reigned, but the second Sultan, who assumed the title of Hoshang Shāh, moved his court to Māndū, where he erected many remarkable edifices. He was defeated in a war with Gujarāt, and was a prisoner for a year, but was restored to his throne, and retained his ill-gotten power until 1432, when he was succeeded by his son, Sultan Mahmūd, the third and last king of the Ghōrī dynasty, a worthless drunken creature.

The Khiljī Dynasty. Sultan Mahmūd Ghōrī was poisoned in 1436¹ by his minister, Mahmūd Khān, a Khiljī or Khalj Turk, who seized the throne and founded the Khiljī dynasty, which lasted almost a century. He

was by far the most eminent of the sovereigns of Mālwa and spent a busy life fighting his neighbours, including the Sultan of Gujarāt, various Rājās of Rājasthān, and Nizām Shāh Bahmanī. Firishhta, ignoring the irregularity of the methods by which he won his crown, specially extols his justice and gives him a good general character.



Khiljī coin of Mālwa.

¹ A. H. 840—A. D. July 16, 1436—July 4, 1437, as proved by coin No. 15 in Wright's *Catalogue*. The books give the date as 1435.

'Sultan Mahmūd', we are told, 'was polite, brave, just, and learned; and during his reign, his subjects, Muhammadans as well as Hindus, were happy, and maintained a friendly intercourse with each other. Scarcely a year passed that he did not take the field, so that his tent became his home, and his resting-place the field of battle. His leisure hours were devoted to hearing the histories and memoirs of the courts of different kings of the earth read.'

It is pleasant to learn that in his time the Hindus were treated with consideration. Husain Shāh, later in the century, pursued the same intelligent policy in Bengal, as already mentioned. The fight with the Rānā of Chitōr apparently must have been indecisive, because the Rānā commemorated his alleged victory by the erection of a noble Tower of Victory, which still stands at Chitōr; while the Sultan, making a similar claim for himself, built a remarkable seven-storied tower at Māndū. That monument unfortunately has collapsed and fallen to ruin so completely that the Archaeological Department experienced considerable difficulty in determining its site.

Sultan Nāsiru-d dīn parricide. The next Sultan, Ghiyāsu-d dīn (1469-1501), was poisoned by his son Nāsiru-d dīn. When Jahāngīr was staying at Māndū in 1617 he liked the place greatly, and was much impressed by the old buildings, which at that time had not fallen into irretrievable ruin. He had spent three lakhs of rupees in repairing them and adapting the most suitable to his own use. He lodged in the palace built by Bahādur the last king of Gujarāt. He tells the story of the parricide Sultan in a lively passage, which deserves quotation. Having mentioned some of the principal edifices, Jahāngīr goes on to say :

'After this I went to the building containing the tombs of the Khaljī rulers. The grave of Nāsiru-d dīn, son of Sultan Ghiyāsu-d dīn, whose face is blackened for ever, was also there. It is well known that that wretch advanced himself by the murder of his own father, Ghiyāsu-d dīn, who was in his 80th year. Twice he gave him poison, and he [the father] twice expelled it by means of a poison antidote amulet (*zahr-muhra*) he had on his arm. The third time he [the son] mixed poison in a cup of sherbet and gave it to his father with his own hand, saying he must drink it. As his father understood what efforts he was making in this matter, he loosened the *zahr-muhra* from his arm and threw it before him, and then turning his face in humility and supplication towards the throne of the Creator, who requires no supplication, said :

"O Lord, my age has arrived at 80 years, and I have passed this time in prosperity and happiness such as has been attained to by no king. Now as this is my last time, I hope that thou wilt not seize Nāsir for my murder, and that reckoning my death as a thing decreed, thou wilt not avenge it."

After he had spoken these words, he drank off that poisoned cup of sherbet at a gulp and delivered his soul to the Creator. . . .

It is reported that when Shīr Khān, the Afghan [Shēr Shāh], in the time of his rule, came to the tomb of Nāsiru-d dīn, he, in spite of his brutish nature, on account of Nāsiru-d dīn's shameful conduct, ordered the head of the tomb to be beaten with sticks. Also when I went to his tomb I gave it several kicks, and ordered the servants in attendance on me to

kick the tomb. Not satisfied with this, I ordered the tomb to be broken open, and his impure remains to be cast into the fire. Then it occurred to me that since fire is Light, it was a pity for the Light of Allah to be polluted by burning his filthy body; also, lest there should be any diminution of torture for him in another state from being thus burnt, I ordered them to throw his crumbled bones, together with his decayed limbs, into the Narbada.¹

Nāsiru-d dīn proved to be a cruel brute when in power. He died of fever in 1512, and was succeeded by his son, Mahmūd II, the last king of his race, who was defeated by Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, and executed. The other male members of the royal family were exterminated, with the exception of one who was at Humayūn's court, and the kingdom was annexed to Gujarāt (A.H. 937=A.D. 1531).

Buildings. The fortified city of Māndū, now in ruins, stood on the extensive summit of a commanding hill, protected by walls about twenty-five miles or more in total length. The massive buildings still recognizable are numerous, and of much architectural merit. They include a splendid Jāmi Masjid, or chief mosque, the Hindōlā Mahall, the Jahāz Mahall, the tomb of Hoshang Shāh, and the palaces of Bahādur and Rūpmatī, besides many other remarkable edifices built of sandstone and marble, which have been repaired and conserved to a considerable extent by the officers of the Archaeological Department and the authorities of the Dhār State. The hill, which was dangerously infested by tigers and other wild beasts for more than two centuries, can now be visited and explored in the utmost comfort.

Gujarāt

The country. The name Gujarāt is of wide and indefinite signification. It may be taken in its most extended sense to mean all the territory in which the Gujarātī language is used, and so to include the peninsula of Cutch (Kachchh), which is not usually reckoned as part of Gujarāt.² In the ordinary use of the term, Cutch being excluded, Gujarāt comprises a considerable region on the mainland and also the peninsula now known as Kāthiāwār, which used to be called Saurāshtra by the ancient Hindus and Sorath by the Muhammadans. The definition of the mainland region has varied from time to time. Some people fix the southern boundary at the Narbadā, while others extend it to Damān. Certainly, in Muhammadan times, Surat at the mouth of the Tāptī and Damān farther south always were considered as belonging

¹ *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, transl. Rogers and Beveridge, R. As. Soc., 1909, vol. i, pp. 365-7. Firishṭa expresses disbelief in the accusations of parricide preferred against Hoshang Shāh and Nāsiru-d dīn Shāh, but, so far as I can judge, the charges seem to be true in both cases. As regards the latter, it is highly improbable that both Shēr Shāh and Jahāngīr should have been misinformed. Cases of parricide among the Muhammadan Sultans are numerous.

² Gujarātī is the official and literary language of Cutch, but the spoken vernacular is a special dialect of Sindhi.

to Gujarāt. The Gujarāt on the mainland of the Muhammadan period may be taken as extending north and south from the neighbourhood of Sirohi and Bhinmāl in Rājputāna to Damān, and east and west from the frontier of Mālhwā to the sea, and the Runn of Cutch. The region so defined comprises in modern terms six Districts of the Bombay Presidency, namely, Ahmadābād, Kaira, Pāneh Mahāls, Broach (Bharōch), Surat, and part of the Thāna District, with the Baroda State or Dominions of the Gaikwār, and many smaller native states. The peninsula of Kāthiāwār, which is shared by a great multitude of such states, is now and was in the Muhammadan period reckoned as part of Gujarāt.

The province, especially the mainland section, enjoys exceptional natural advantages, being fertile, well supplied with manufactures, and possessed of numerous ports where profitable overseas commerce has been practised since the most remote times. A country so desirable necessarily has attracted the attention of all the races which have effected conquests in northern and western India. Sultan Mahmūd of Ghaznī's famous raid in A. D. 1024 effected the destruction of the temple at Somnāth and provided his army with much booty, but no attempt at permanent conquest was then made. The Muslim invasions in the latter part of the twelfth century also failed to produce any permanent result, and the country continued to be ruled by Hindu dynasties. In 1297 an officer of Alāu-d dīn Khiljī annexed it to the Sultanate of Delhi. Muslim governors continued to be appointed from the capital after that date as long as the Sultanate lasted.

Independence. Zafar Khān, the last governor, who was appointed in 1391, and had been practically independent, formally withdrew his allegiance in 1401,¹ and placed his son Tātār Khān on the provincial throne as Sultan, with the title of Nāsiru-d dīn Muhammad Shāh. The new Sultan seems to have been poisoned by his father in 1407. But four years later the old man, who had become Sultan Muzaḥfar Shāh, was poisoned in his turn by his grandson, Alp Khān, who assumed the style of Ahmad Shāh.

Ahmad Shāh. Ahmad Shāh, who reigned for thirty years from 1411 to 1441, may be regarded as the real founder of the independent kingdom of Gujarāt. His father and grandfather during their few years of power had controlled only a comparatively small territory in the neighbourhood of Ahmadābād, then called Asāwal. Ahmad Shāh devoted his energy and considerable ability to extending his territories, spreading the religion of the Prophet, and improving the administration of his own dominions. Throughout his reign he never suffered a defeat, and his armies invariably prevailed over those of the Sultanate of Mālhwā, the chiefs of Asīrgarh, Rājputāna, and other neighbouring countries. Sultan Ahmad was a close friend of Sultan Firōz Bahmanī, and, like him, was zealous in fighting the infidels and destroying their temples. He built the noble city of Ahmadābād adjoining the old Hindu

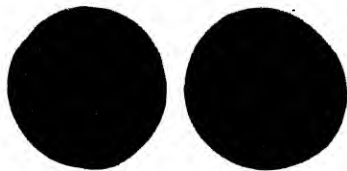
¹ Wright gives A. H. 806 = A. D. 1403-4; following a paper by G. P. Taylor in *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, for 1902.

town of Asāwal. 'Travellers', the local historian avers, 'are agreed that they have found no city in the whole earth so beautiful, charming, and splendid.'

Sultan Mahmūd Bigarhā. Sultan Mahmūd Begarā or Bigarhā, a grandson of Ahmad Shāh, ascended the throne at the age of thirteen in (A.H. 863) 1459 and reigned prosperously for fifty-two years until (A.H. 917) 1511. He was by far the most eminent sovereign of his dynasty. His achievements and personal peculiarities were so remarkable that travellers carried his fame in a legendary form to Europe. Although a mere boy at the time of his accession he seems to have assumed a man's part from the first and to have been able to dispense with a Protector, such as was imposed on Akbar at the same age.

'He added glory and lustre to the kingdom of Gujarāt, and was the best of all the Gujarāt kings, including all who preceded and all who succeeded him; and whether for abounding justice and generosity, for success in religious war, and for the diffusion of the laws of Islām and of Musalmāns; for soundness of judgement, alike in boyhood, in manhood, and in old age; for power, for valour, and victory—he was a pattern of excellence.'

That vigorous eulogy by the leading Muslim historian of his country seems to be justified by the facts as seen from his point of view. We must, however, be content to accept the old Sultans as they were, and to admit that most of them were fierce, intolerant fanatics, whatever their other merits might be. The more fanatical they were the better the historians liked them.



Coin of Mahmūd Bigarhā.

Mahmūd was eminently successful in war. He made himself master of the strong fortresses of Champānēr to the north-east of Baroda, and of Jūnāgarh in Kāthiāwār; overran Cutch and gained victories over the Sultan of Ahmadnagar and other potentates.

Towards the end of his reign he came into conflict with the Portuguese and allied himself with the Sultan of Turkey against them, thus entering the field of European politics. In 1507 an officer of his secured the aid of some Turkish troops and ten ships for an attack on the Portuguese, whom the Ottoman Government was most anxious to expel from the Indian seas. On that occasion the Muhammadan assailants were successful and sank a great ship with a valuable cargo, near Chaul, to the south of Bombay. But two years later, in 1509, the Musalmān fleet was annihilated in a battle fought off Diu in Kāthiāwār, then included in the Gujarāt kingdom. The foreigners, who finally secured Goa from Bījāpur in 1510, were thenceforward always able to maintain their possessions against the Indian powers, but did not obtain a fort at Diu until 1535. Even victorious Akbar was unable to disturb them seriously, although no project was nearer to his heart

than the expulsion of the hated intruders from the soil of his richest province.

The personal peculiarities of Mahmūd made a deep impression on his contemporaries, and became known in Europe, as told in fantastic tales chiefly conveyed through the agency of the Italian traveller, Ludovico di Varthema. The Sultan's moustaches were so long that he used to tie them over his head and his beard reached to his girdle. His appetite, like that of Akbar's secretary, Abu-l-Fazl, was so abnormal that he was credited with eating more than twenty pounds' weight of food daily. He was believed to have been dosed with poison from childhood and thus to have become immune against its effects, while his body was so saturated with venom that if a fly settled on his hand it would drop dead. The legend has found its way into English literature through Samuel Butler's reference to it :

The Prince of Cambay's daily food
Is asp, and basilisk, and toad.¹

Sultan Bahādur Shāh. The latest notable Sultan of Gujarāt was Mahmūd Bigarlhā's grandson, Bahādur Shāh, who reigned from the close of 1526 to February 1537, when his uneasy life was ended by a tragic death at the hands of the Portuguese. He earned a full share of military glory by his defeat of Mahmūd II Khiljī, involving the annexation of Mālwa in 1531-2, and by his storm of Chitōr in 1534, when the Rājput̃s made their usual dreadful sacrifice.

In the following year, 1535, Bahādur was utterly defeated by Humāyūn Pādshāh, driven from his kingdom, and forced to take refuge in Mālwa. The fortress of Champānēr was gallantly taken by Humāyūn, who was himself among the earliest to escalate the walls. But the Mogul was soon recalled from the scene of his western triumphs by the necessity of meeting his Afghan rival, Shēr Khān (Shāh), and Bahādur was then able to return to his kingdom.

Ordinarily the relations between the Portuguese and the Government of Gujarāt were hostile, but the Mogul pressure forced Bahādur to buy the promise of Portuguese help by the surrender of Bassein, and to conclude a treaty of peace with the proud foreigners. Negotiations on the subject of the port and fortress of Diu, then of much importance as a trading station, induced Bahādur Shāh to visit Nuno da Cunha, the Portuguese governor, and go aboard his ship. No less than eight distinct accounts of what then happened—namely, four Portuguese and four Muhammadan—are on record, all differing in details. Colonel Watson, who examined them all critically, came to 'the conclusion . . . that on either side the leader hoped by some future treachery to seize the person of the other; and that mutual suspicion turned into a fatal affray a meeting which both parties intended should pass peacefully and lull the other into a false and favourable security'.

¹ *Hudibras*, Part ii, Canto i, published in 1664.

It is certain that the Sultan of Gujarāt fell overboard, and while in the water was knocked on the head by a sailor. He was only thirty-one years of age. Manuel de Souza, captain of the port of Diu, also lost his life at the same time.

Bahādur Shāh's intemperance in the use of liquor and drugs clouded his brain and made him prone to acts of ill-considered impulse. He left no son.

Later history. The history of the province from the time of his death in 1537 to its annexation by Akbar after the lightning campaigns of 1572-3 is a record of anarchical confusion, into the details of which it is unnecessary to enter. Disturbances continued to be frequent even after the absorption of the kingdom into the Mogul empire.

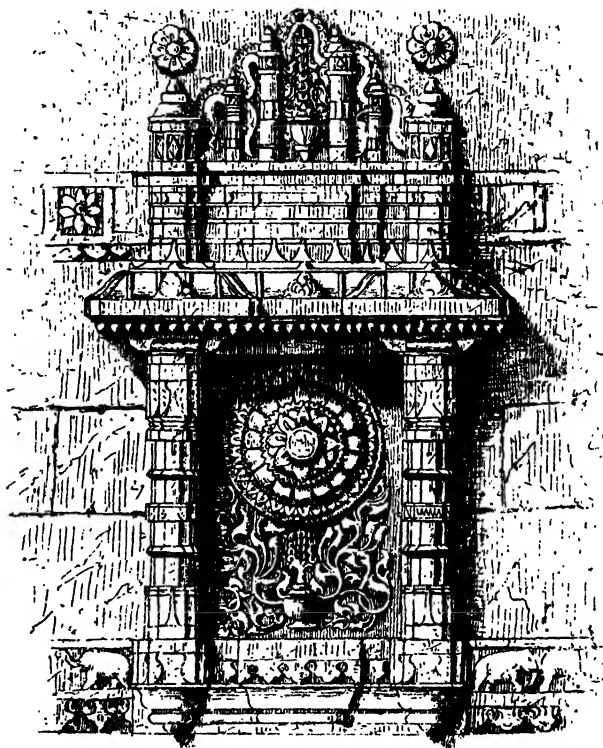
Architecture. The exquisite architecture of Gujarāt, further beautified by wood-carving of supreme excellence, is the special distinction of the province. The Muhammadan conquerors adopted with certain modifications the charming designs of the old Hindu and Jain architects, filling Ahmadābād, Cambay, and many other towns with a multitude of buildings singularly pleasing to the eye, and enriched with most delicate stone lattices and other ornaments. The ancient Hindu monuments of both mainland Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār have been described by Dr. Burgess in two large, finely illustrated quarto volumes of the Archaeological Survey. The same author has described and illustrated with equal copiousness the Muhammadan architecture on the mainland in three other handsome volumes. The architects of the province still retain much of the skill of their ancestors. Ahmadābād is particularly rich in noble buildings, and during the time of its glory, extending from its foundation to the eighteenth century—a period of about three centuries—undoubtedly was one of the handsomest cities in the world. The population is said to have numbered 900,000, and millionaires were to be found among the merchants. Even now the city is wealthy and prosperous, the second largest in the Bombay Presidency, with a population approaching 200,000. According to a local saying the prosperity of Ahmadābād hangs on three threads—silk, gold, and cotton.

Kashmīr

The country. The dominions of the Mahārāja of Kāshmir—or, more accurately, of Kāshmir and Jamū (Jummoo), as defined by the treaty of 1846, made after the first Sikh war and still operative, include extensive mountainous regions unconnected with the Kāshmir of Hindu and Muhammadan history. In that history the name Kāshmir refers only to the beautiful valley on the upper course of the Jihlam (Jhelum), which is about eighty-five miles long and from twenty to twenty-five broad. The long and interesting story of the Hindu kingdom of the valley is painful reading on the whole, many of the Rājās having been atrocious tyrants.

The first Sultan. Early in the fourteenth century a Musalmān adventurer from Swat, named Shāh Mirzā or Mīr, who had been

minister to the Rājā, seized the throne and established a Muhammadan dynasty of Sultans which lasted until nearly the middle of the sixteenth century. The short-lived Chak dynasty overthrown by Akbar in 1586 did not obtain power until about 1560. Shāh Mīrzā, the first Sultan, took the title of Shamsu-d dīn.



PANEL, ADALAJ WAV, AHMADĀBĀD.

Sultan Sikandar. The sixth Sultan, Sikandar (about 1386–1410), who was ruling at the time of Timūr's invasion in 1398, managed to avoid meeting that formidable personage, and remained safely protected by his mountain walls. Sikandar was a gloomy, ferocious bigot, and his zeal in destroying temples and idols was so intense that he is remembered as the Idol-Breaker. He freely used the sword to propagate Islām and succeeded in forcing the bulk of the population to conform outwardly to the Muslim religion. Most of the Brahmans refused to apostatize, and many

of them paid with their lives the penalty for their steadfastness. Many others were exiled, and only a few conformed.

Sultan Zainu-l 'Ābidīn. The eighth Sultan, Zainu-l 'Ābidīn, who had a long and prosperous reign of about half a century from 1417 to 1467, was a man of very different type. He adopted the policy of universal toleration, recalled the exiled Brahmans, repealed the *jizya* or poll-tax on Hindus, and even permitted new temples to be built. He abstained from eating flesh, prohibited the slaughter of kine, and was justly venerated as a saint. He encouraged literature, painting, and music, and caused many translations to be made of works composed in Sanskrit, Arabic, and other languages. In those respects he resembled Akbar, but he differed from that monarch in the continence which enabled him to practise strict fidelity to one wife.



Kashmir coin of Zainu-l 'Ābidīn.

Later History. The reigns of the other Sultans are not of sufficient importance or interest to justify the insertion of their annals in this history. For eleven years (1541–52) a relative of Humāyūn, named Mīrzā Haidar, who had invaded the valley, ruled it, nominally as governor on behalf of Humāyūn, but in practice as an independent prince. Some years later the Chak dynasty seized the throne.

The details of the chronology of the Sultans of Kashmīr are uncertain, and any dates given must be regarded as being only approximate.

CHRONOLOGY

(Leading dates only)

Bengal

Independence of Fakhru-d dīn	about 1340
Husain Shāh	1498–1518
Nusrat Shāh	1518–32
Bengal annexed by Akbar	1576

Mālwa

Independence of Sultan Shihābu-d dīn Ghōrī	1401
Sultan Mahmūd Ghōrī	1432
Sultan Mahmūd Khiljī, founded Khiljī dynasty	1436
Mālwa annexed by Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt	1531
Mālwa annexed by Akbar	1561–4

Gujarāt

Independence of Nāsiru-d dīn Muhammad Shāh	about 1401
Sultan Ahmad Shāh ; foundation of Ahmadābād	1411–31
Sultan Mahmūd Bīgarhā	1459–1511
Naval battles with Portuguese	1507, 1509
Occupation of Goa by Portuguese	1510
Sultan Bahādur Shāh	1526–37

Mālwa annexed	1531
Chitōr stormed	1534
Bahādur defeated by Humāyūn	1535
Bahādur killed by Portuguese	1537
Gujarāt annexed by Akbar	1572-3

Kashmīr

Sultan Shamsu-d dīn	about 1334
Sultan Sikandar, the Idol-Breaker	about 1386-1410
Sultan Zainu-l 'Abidin	about 1417-67
Mirzā Haidar	about 1541-52
Kashmīr annexed by Akbar	1586

AUTHORITIES

For my slight notice of the annals of Bengal I have used chiefly Firishta, and Stewart, *History of Bengal*, 1813.

Firishta gives the most convenient summary of Mālwa history.

The best and most authoritative abstract of Gujarāt Muhammadan history is that by Colonel Watson in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (1896), vol. i, part i. The same volume contains a good account of Māndū, the capital of Mālwa. I have also consulted Bayley, *History of Gujarāt* (1886); and Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, 1497-1550 (Constable, 1899).

Various articles in the *I. G.* (1908) are serviceable for all the kingdoms.

The Kashmīr history is given by Firishta and Abu-l Fazl (*Āin*, vol. ii, transl. Jarrett), as well as in the *I. G.*, but many details remain obscure. The story of the Sultans was discussed by C. J. Rodgers at considerable length in *J. A. S. B.*, part i, 1885, in a paper on 'The Square Silver Coins of the Sultans of Kashmīr'.

The coins of the various kingdoms are described by H. N. Wright in the *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. ii, Clarendon Press, 1907, with references to other publications.

The works by Burgess are the leading authority on the art of the province of Gujarāt, namely:

1. *Report on the Antiquities of Kāthiāwād and Kachh*, 1876 (ASWI, vol. ii = Imperial Series, vol. ii);
2. *Muhammadan Architecture in Gujarāt*, 1896 (ASWI, vi = Imp. Ser., xxiii);
3. *Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadābād*, Part I, 1900 (ASWI, vii = Imp., Ser. xxiv);
4. *Ditto*, Part II, 1905 (ASWI, viii = Imp., Ser. xxxiii);
5. *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarāt*, 1903 (ASWI, ix = Imp. Ser., xxxii).

BOOK V

CHAPTER 1

The Bahmanī Dynasty of the Deccan, 1347–1526.

Bahmanī dynasty; Sultan Alāu-d dīn I. A series of rebellions between the years 1343 and 1351, caused by the mad tyranny of Muhammad bin Tughlak, left to the sovereign of Delhi only a small portion of the extensive empire which he had controlled for a few years.

Hasan, entitled Zafar Khān, an Afghan or Turkī officer of the Delhi Sultan, occupied Daulatābād in the Deccan in 1347, and proclaimed his independence before the end of the year. He is known to history as Sultan Alāu-d dīn I, the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Deccan, which played an important part in India for nearly two centuries, from 1347 to 1526. He assumed the name or title of Bahman, because he claimed descent from the early Persian king so-called, better known as Artaxerxes Longimanus, the Long-armed (Ardashīr Darāzdest), who is identified with Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther.¹

Kulbargā, the capital. The new Sultan established his capital at Kulbargā, now in the Nizam's Dominions, to which he gave the Muhammadan name of Ahsanābād.² After the death of Muhammad bin Tughlak in 1351 Alāu-d dīn undertook the conquest of a large part of the Deccan, and when he passed away in 1358 was master of an extensive dominion, reaching to the sea on the west and including the ports of Goa and Dābhōl. The latter place, now a small town in the Ratnagiri District, Bombay, was the principal port of the Konkan from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. The eastern frontier of the Bahmanī Sultanate was marked by Bhōnagīr or Bhōngīr (17° 31' N. ; 78° 53' E.), now a considerable town in the Nizam's Dominions. The Pēn Gangā river formed the northern, and the Krishnā the southern boundary.

¹ The current story derived from Firishta that the title Bahman or Bahmanī is a corruption of the word Brahman, because the first Sultan had been in the service of Gangū or Gāngū Brahman, is incredible and false. Hasan was a fierce, bigoted Muslim who would not have dubbed himself a Brahman for any consideration. The legend finds no support from coins or inscriptions and has been rightly rejected by King and Haig. The *Burhān-i Ma'āsir* correctly states that 'in consequence of his descent the King was known as Bahman'. It is immaterial whether the descent was claimed with good reason or not.

² Ahsanābād, or Hasanābād, with reference to the Sultan's name Hasan (see *E. & D.*, viii, p. 16 n.). Kulbargā is the Gulbarga of *I. G.* and Haig; *G* and *K* being often confounded in Persian writing. The Hyderabad officials use the erroneous form Gulbarga. The name may be correctly written as Kalburgā (कल्बुर्गा), or Kulbargā (कुल्बर्गा), or Kulburgā (कुल्बुर्गा). See King, p. 1 n. The second form has been adopted in the text.

Muhammad Shāh I; wars with Hindus. The reign of the second Sultan, Muhammad Shāh I (1358-73), was chiefly occupied by savage wars waged against the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagar and Talingāna or Warangal. Horrid cruelties were committed on both sides. The ferocious struggle continued until the Sultan was reputed to have slain half a million of Hindus. The population was so much reduced that the Kanarese country did not recover for ages. At last the butchery was stayed and the parties agreed to spare the lives of prisoners and non-combatants. Muhammad Shāh was as bloodthirsty when dealing with brigandage in his own dominions as he was against his external Hindu foes. Like the Mogul emperors later he sought to suppress robbery by indiscriminate massacres, and in the course of six or seven months sent nearly eight thousand heads of supposed robbers to be piled up near the city gates. He accumulated immense treasures and possessed three thousand elephants. Firishṭa, who did not disapprove of cruelty to unbelievers, gives him a good character, but the *Burhān-i Ma'āsir* states that his death was due to an 'irreligious manner of living', which probably means indulgence in strong drink. Saifu-d dīn Ghōrī, an eminent minister who had served the first Sultan faithfully, managed the internal affairs of the kingdom during the reign of the second, and continued his work until the accession of the sixth, when he died at an age exceeding a hundred years.

Firōz, 8th Sultan, 1397-1422. Passing over intermediate revolutions and short reigns, we come to the reign of Firōz, the eighth Sultan, who was a son of the youngest brother of Muhammad Shāh I.

'In 1396 the dreadful famine, distinguished from all others by the name of the Durgā Devī, commenced in Mahārāshtra. It lasted, according to Hindu legends, for twelve years. At the end of that time the periodical rains returned; but whole districts were entirely depopulated, and a very scanty revenue was obtained from the territory between the Godāvarī and Krishnā for upwards of thirty years afterwards.'¹

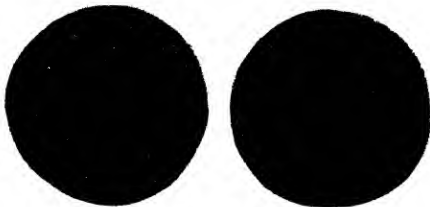
Firōz was a fierce bigot, who spent most of his time in pitiless wars against his Hindu neighbours, 'being determined to use his best endeavours in the suppression of infidelity and the strengthening of the faith'. He went on an expedition almost every year, forcing the Rāya of Vijayanagar to pay tribute, and extending his conquests as far as Rājamahendri or Rājamundri at the apex of the Godāvarī delta. He so far violated the principles of his religion as to drink hard and enjoy music. He kept an enormous number of women from many countries, including Europe, and was reputed to be able to talk with each lady in her own tongue. He had facilities for importing European curiosities through Goa and Dābhōl. Firōz loved building, and constructed a fortified palace at Firozābād on the Bhīma to the south of the capital. He adorned Kulbargā with many edifices, the most notable being the principal mosque, alleged to have been planned in imitation of the mosque at Cordova in Spain. It is the only large

¹ Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, ed. 1826, vol. i, p. 59.

mosque in India which is completely roofed.¹ Fīrōz went on one expedition too many. About 1420, towards the close of his reign, he suffered a severe defeat at Pāngal, to the north of the Krishnā, and came home a broken-down old man. He spent the rest of his days in works of piety according to his lights and left affairs of state in the hands of two Turkī slaves. Notwithstanding his aversion to Hindus, he anticipated one measure of Akbar's policy by marrying two Hindu ladies, one being a princess of Vijayanagar. Although he gratified his curiosity by reading the Old and New Testament, it is not correct to affirm, as Meadows Taylor does, that 'in religion he was perfectly tolerant of all sects and creeds'. As a matter of fact, he was a particularly ferocious bigot.

Firishta was of opinion that the house of Bahman attained its greatest splendour in the days of Fīrōz.

Ahmad Shāh, 1422-35. The administration of the Turkī slaves being displeasing to the Sultan's brother Ahmad that prince, with the aid of a foreign merchant named Khalaf Hasan Basrī, deposed Fīrōz and murdered him with his son. Such tragedies were common in Bahmanī history and do not seem to have offended public opinion. The murderer ascended the throne without opposition, and resumed the war with the Hindus, burning to revenge the losses suffered by the 'army of Islām' in his brother's time. He attacked the Vijayanagar territory, with savagery even greater than that shown by his predecessors.



Coin of Fīrōz Bahmanī.

'Ahmad Shāh, without waiting to besiege the Hindu capital, overran the open country; and wherever he went, put to death men, women, and children without mercy, contrary to the compact made by his uncle and predecessor, Muhammad Shāh, and the Rāya of Vijayanagar. Whenever the number of slain amounted to twenty thousand, he halted three days, and made a festival in celebration of the bloody event. He broke down also the idolatrous temples and destroyed the colleges of the brahmans.'

Those atrocious proceedings enabled the Sultan to assume the title of Walī, or Saint. Ultimately peace was concluded with Vijayanagar. The operations against Warangal in 1424 or 1425 had finally destroyed the independence of that Hindu kingdom. About the year 1420 the Deccan again suffered from a severe famine.

Ahmad Shāh also engaged in wars with the Sultans of Mālwa and Gujarāt and with the Hindu chiefs of the Konkan. The war with

¹ Kulbargā decayed after the death of Fīrōz, when it ceased to be the capital, and then lay neglected for centuries. It has revived lately, being now a prosperous town of about 80,000 inhabitants with extensive trade. Haig denies that the mosque is copied from that at Cordova (*Historic Landmarks*, p. 94).

Gujarāt was ended by a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive, which subsisted for many years. Nizām Shāh benefited by it in 1462.

Change of capital to Bidar. Ahmad Shāh, who had suffered from illness at Kulbargā, and regarded the place as unlucky, shifted his capital to Bidar (Ahmadābād or Muhammadābād), distant about sixty miles to the north-east. The wisdom of the transfer is fully justified by the description of the new capital recorded by Meadows Taylor :

‘ There is no more healthy or beautiful site for a city in the Deccan than Bidar. The fort had been already erected on the north-east angle of a tableland composed of laterite, at a point where the elevation, which is considerable, or about 2,500 feet above the level of the sea, trends southward and westward, and declines abruptly about 500 feet to the wide plain of the valley of the Manjera, which it overlooks. The fortifications, still perfect, are truly noble ; built of blocks of laterite dug out of the ditch, which is very broad and has a peculiar mode of defence met with nowhere else, two walls of laterite, the height of the depth of the ditch, having been left at equal distances between the *faussebraye* and the counterscarp all round the western and southern faces of the fort.¹ . . . The city adjoined the fort, space being left for an esplanade, and stretched southwards along the crest of the eminence, being regularly laid out with broad streets. There was a plentiful supply of beautiful water, though the wells are deep ; and in every respect, whether as regards climate, which is much cooler and healthier than that of Kulbargā, or situation, the new capital was far preferable to the old one. At the present time, though the city has diminished to a provincial town, and the noble monuments of the Bahmani kings have decayed, there is no city of the Deccan which better repays a visit from the traveller than Bidar.’²

Alāu-d dīn II. Ahmad Shāh was succeeded quietly by his eldest son, Alāu-d dīn II (1435-57). Renewed war with Vijayanagar resulted ultimately in a peace favourable to the Sultan. Firishhta notices the curious fact that during that war the Rāya (Deva Rāya II) engaged Muhammadan mercenaries to fight against the army of Islām, and even erected a mosque at his capital for the use of his Muslim soldiers. After the termination of the war the Sultan neglected his duties and abandoned himself to the fleshly delights of wine and women. The efficiency of the public service was much impaired by the quarrels between two factions—the one comprising the native or Deccanee Muhammadans allied with the Abyssinian (or Habshī) settlers, who were mostly Sunnīs ; and the other the so-called ‘foreigners’, that is to say, the Arabs, Turks, Persians, and Moguls, who usually were Shīas. The enmity between the factions led to the commission of a horrid crime by permission of the drunken Sultan. When a force under one of his foreign officers had been defeated in the Konkan by the Hindus, the remnant took refuge in a fort named Chākan situated

¹ Scarp or escarp is the steep inner side of the ditch next to the rampart ; counterscarp is the opposite slope of the ditch next to the besieger. *Fausse-brayes* are defined as ‘lower parapets outside the bastions’ (Chambers, *Cyclop.*) ; or as ‘a small mound of earth thrown up about a rampart’ (Webster). Both the thing and name, I believe, are now obsolete.

² *Manual*, p. 169.

to the north of Poona. The Deccanee party, having trumped up false accusations of treasonable intent against the refugees, persuaded the Sultan to sanction the extermination of the Sayyids and Moguls in the fort. The Deccanee chiefs secured the confidence of their victims by a show of kindness, and then fell upon them treacherously, slaying every male, including 1,200 Sayyids of pure descent and about a thousand other foreigners. Khalaf Hasan, the man who had helped Ahmad Shāh to gain the throne, and had subsequently become prime minister, was among the slain. The women were treated 'with all the insult that lust or brutality could invoke'. The Sultan, when he found that he had been deceived, punished the authors of the massacre.

Humāyūn. Alāu-d dīn was followed by his eldest son Humāyūn (1457-61), who had already earned a terrible reputation for ferocious cruelty. An attempt to displace him in favour of a younger brother was easily defeated, and the new Sultan was free to indulge his maniacal passion for the infliction of pain. Men and women, suspected without reason of favouring rebellion, were stabbed with daggers, hewn in pieces with hatchets, or scalded to death by boiling water or hot oil.

'The fire of his rage blazed up in such a way that it burned up land and water; and the broker of his violence used to sell the guilty and innocent by one tariff. The nobles and generals when they went to salute the Sultan used to bid farewell to their wives and children and make their wills. Most of the nobles, ministers, princes, and heirs to the sovereignty were put to the sword.'

Humāyūn, who is remembered by the epithet Zālim, or the Tyrant, resembled his prototype Muhammad bin Tughlak of Delhi, in being 'learned, mad, merciless, and cruel'. Some authorities suggest that he died a natural death, but the more probable account avers that while intoxicated he was assassinated by his servants. A versifier ingeniously expressed the universal joy at the death of the monster by the chronogram :

Humāyūn Shāh has passed away from the world.
God Almighty, what a blessing was the death of Humāyūn !
On the date of his death the world was full of delight,
So 'delight of the world' gives the date of his death.¹

Strange to say the tyrant was served by an excellent minister, Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān, who apparently was unable to check his master's furious rage. The minister lived long enough to do good service under Humāyūn's successors, and to be murdered for his pains.

Muhammad Shāh III; conquests; famine. The next sultan of importance was Muhammad Shāh III, who reigned for nearly twenty years (1468-82), and enjoyed the services of Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān, the capable minister who had served Humāyūn, and was equally competent as a general and as a civil administrator. The Khwāja took the strong fortress of Belgaum (1478), and

¹ The Persian words are ذوق جهان, *zauk-i jahān*. The numerical values of the letters total 865, the Hijrī year, corresponding to A.D. 1460-1; thus, $z=700$, $au(w)=6$, $k=100$, $j=3$, $h=5$, \bar{a} (*alif*)=1, and $n=50$.

recovered Goa, which had been lost by one of the earlier sultans to the Rāya of Vijayanagar, at a date not known exactly. The result of his operations was an increase of the Bahmanī dominions 'to an extent never achieved by former sovereigns'.

A disastrous famine, known as the 'famine of Bijāpur' because it began in that state, devastated the Deccan in 1473 or 1474 and caused many deaths. The rains failed for two years, and when they came at last, in the third year, 'scarcely any farmers remained in the country to cultivate the lands'.

The title of Ghāzī. When Kondapalli (Condapilly) was surrendered early in 1481, previous to the raid on Kānchī, to be described presently, an incident occurred which illustrates the ferocity of the spirit of fanaticism characteristic of the Bahmanī kings.

'The King,' Firishta relates, 'having gone to view the fort, broke down an idolatrous temple and killed some brahmans who officiated at it, with his own hands, as a point of religion. He then gave orders for a mosque to be erected on the foundations of the temple, and ascending the pulpit, repeated a few prayers, distributed alms, and commanded the *Khutba* to be read in his name. Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān now represented that as his Majesty had slain some infidels with his own hands, he might fairly assume the title of Ghāzī, an appellation of which he was very proud. Muhammad Shāh was the first of his race who had slain a brahman; and it is the belief of the Decannees that this act was inauspicious, and led to the troubles which soon after perplexed the affairs of himself and his family, and ended in the dissolution of the dynasty.'

The virtuous minister, it will be observed, was quite as fanatical and bloodthirsty as his master. Akbar in the following century earned the much desired title of Ghāzī in a similar way by smiting the helpless prisoner, Hēmū, his Hindu rival.¹

Raid on Kānchī or Conjeeveram. The most remarkable military exploit of the reign was the successful raid made on Kānchī or Conjeeveram, one of the seven Hindu sacred cities, during the course of a campaign against Vijayanagar in 1481. The remote position of Kānchī, forty-two miles SSW. of Madras, had secured it from Muhammadan attacks, so that the inhabitants believed themselves to be perfectly safe. The Sultan was encamped at Kondapalli near Bezwāda, now in the Kistna (Krishnā) District of Madras, when glowing accounts of the rich booty to be obtained in the holy city induced him to plan a surprise. The story is best told in the words of Firishta, as follows :

'On his [Muhammad Shāh's] arrival at Kondapalli [Condapilly], he was informed by the country people that at the distance of ten days' journey was the temple of Kānchī, the walls and roof of which were covered with plates of gold and ornamented with precious stones, but that no Muhammadan monarch had as yet seen it or even heard of its name. Muhammad Shāh accordingly selected six thousand of his best cavalry, and leaving the rest of his army at Kondapalli, proceeded by forced marches to Kānchī. He moved so rapidly on the last day, according to the historians of the time, that only forty troopers kept up with him, among which number were Nizāmu-l Mulk Bahrī and Yūrish Khān Turk. On approaching the

¹ That is the true account of Akbar's action. See *post*, Book VI.

temple some Hindus came forth, one of whom, a man of gigantic stature, mounted on horseback, and brandishing a drawn sabre by way of defiance, rushed full speed towards the King, and aimed a blow which the latter parried, and with one stroke of his sword cleaved him in twain. Another infidel then attacked the King, whose little band was shortly engaged man to man with the enemy ; but Muhammad Shāh had again the good fortune to slay his opponent, upon which the rest of the Hindus retired into the temple. Swarms of people, like bees, now issued from within and ranged themselves under its walls to defend it. At length, the rest of the King's force coming up, the temple was attacked and carried by storm with great slaughter. An immense booty fell to the share of the victors, who took away nothing but gold, jewels, and silver, which were abundant. The King then [March 12, 1481] sacked the city of Kānchī, and, after remaining there for a week, he returned to his army.'

The authorities differ considerably concerning the raid. The *Burhān-i Ma'āsir* certainly exaggerates when it asserts that the Muhammadans 'levelled the city and its temples with the ground and overthrew all the symbols of infidelity'. The force present was not capable of such laborious demolition, and as a matter of fact several fine ancient temples, built many centuries prior to the raid, are still standing. Mr. Sewell is too sceptical in rejecting the whole story of the Kānchī expedition as being 'exceedingly improbable'.

Murder of Mahmūd Gāwān. Muhammad Shāh, a confirmed drunkard, gave way to his besetting sin more and more as time went on. His intemperance was the direct cause of the crime which disgraced and deservedly embittered the last year of his life. Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān, his great minister, being a Persian, necessarily was counted as a 'foreigner', and consequently was hated by the Deccanee faction, which unceasingly sought his ruin. At last, early in April 1481, the plotters managed to lay before their intoxicated sovereign a treasonable letter falsely attributed to the minister, although an obvious forgery. The besotted Sultan, without taking the slightest trouble to ascertain the facts, ordered the instant execution of his aged and faithful servant. When it was too late he found out the deceit practised on him and tried to drown his remorse in drink, until he killed himself by his excesses in March 1482.

Consequences of the crime. Meadows Taylor justly observes that the death of Mahmūd Gāwān was 'the beginning of the end', and that 'with him departed all the cohesion and power of the Bahmanī kingdom', a remark probably suggested by the epitaph of Colonel Palmer on Nānā Farnavis that 'with him departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Mahratta government'. The minister was a devout and even fanatical Sunnī Musalmān, as ruthless as any one else in slaying and despoiling idolaters. Subject to that qualification, which counted as a virtue in the eyes of his co-religionists, his character seems to deserve the praise bestowed upon it by Firishta, which is echoed by Meadows Taylor in language still more emphatic, and deserving of quotation, even though it may seem tinged with exaggeration :

Character of Mahmūd Gāwān. 'The character of Mahmūd Gāwān'. Taylor observes, 'stands out broadly and grandly, not only among all

his contemporaries, but among all the ancient Muhammadans of India, as one unapproachably perfect and consistent . . . his noble and judicious reforms, his skill and bravery in war, his justice and public and private benevolence have, in the aggregate, no equals in the Muhammadan history of India. . . . Out of the public revenues of his ample estates, while he paid the public establishments attached to him, he built and endowed the magnificent college at Bidar, which was practically destroyed by an explosion of gunpowder in the reign of Aurangzēb, and which, while he lived at the capital, was his daily resort ; and the grand fortresses of Ausā, Parēndā, Sholāpur, Dharūr [Dārūr], and many others attest alike his military skill and science.¹

Mahmūd Shāh, 1482-1518; end of the dynasty. Little more remains to be said about the annals of the Bahmanī dynasty. The successor of Muhammad III was his son Mahmūd, a boy of twelve years of age, who lived and in a manner reigned until 1518, but never possessed real power. The Sultan was a worthless creature, who, when he grew up, totally neglected the affairs of his government, spending his time with low-born favourites in vulgar debauchery. The provincial governors, one after the other, declared their independence, and only a small area round the capital, which became the separate Sultanate of Bīdar a few years later, remained under the nominal jurisdiction of Mahmūd. The actual government was in the hands of Kāsim Barīd, a crafty Turk, and after his death in those of his son, Amīr Barīd. It is unnecessary to relate the story of the murders, quarrels, and rebellions of Mahmūd's miserable reign. They may be read by the curious in the pages of Firishṭa and the *Burhān-i Ma'asir*. After the death of Mahmūd four puppet Sultans in succession were placed on the throne, until in 1526 Amīr Barīd felt that the time had come for the assertion of his right to rule on his own account.

Character of the dynasty. Before we proceed to notice some of the more prominent events in the complicated history of the five separate Sultanates formed out of the fragments of the Bahmanī dominion, it will be well to pause for a moment in order to consider the nature of the achievement of the Bahmanī Sultans of the Deccan, and to estimate the position in history to which they are entitled.

The story of the dynasty as it appears in the books is not attractive reading. Between 1347 and 1518 the throne was occupied by fourteen Sultans, of whom four were murdered, and two others were deposed and blinded. With the exception of the fifth Sultan, a quiet peaceful man, all the sovereigns who attained maturity were bloodthirsty fanatics. The record of their wars with the neighbouring Hindu powers is a mass of sickening horrors. Humāyūn was a monster, comparable only with the most infamous tyrants named in history. Several of the Sultans were drunken debauchees, and little is recorded about any member of the family

¹ See map p. 287. Ausā (Owsah) is 70 miles NNW. of Kulbargā, Parēndā is 70 miles W. of Ausā, Sholāpur is 70 miles NW. of Kulbargā, and Dārūr is about 22 miles E. of Rāichūr. Burgess gives a photograph and plan of the ruined college (*A. S. W. I.*, vol. iii, plates xxviii, xxix). It is illustrated also in the *Ann. Rep. A. S. Nizam's Dominions* for 1914-15.

which is calculated to justify a favourable opinion of his character. The only person mentioned who deserves much praise is the minister Mahmūd Gāwān, and even he was fanatical and bloodthirsty. It would be difficult to specify any definite benefit conferred upon India by the dynasty. No doubt, as Meadows Taylor points out, the Bahmanīs gave a certain amount of encouragement to purely Muslim learning, and constructed irrigation works in the eastern provinces, which incidentally did good to the peasantry while primarily scouring the crown revenue. But those items to their credit weigh lightly against the wholesale devastation wrought by their inhuman wars, massacres, and burnings.

Misery of the common people. Our estimate of the character of the Bahmanī Sultans and the effect of their rule upon the people committed to their charge need not be based merely upon inferences drawn from the story of their conspicuous doings. Observations on the conditions of life of the unregarded Hindu peasantry must not be looked for in the pages of Muhammadan historians, whether they deal with the north or the south. The scanty information recorded concerning the commonalty of India in ancient times is obtained almost wholly from the notes made by observant foreign visitors. Such a visitor, a Russian merchant named Athanasius Nikitin, happened to reside for a long time at Bīdar and to travel in the Bahmanī dominions between the years 1470 and 1474 in the reign of Muhammad Shāh III. By a lucky accident his notes were preserved, and have been made accessible in an English version.

The merchant tells us that:

'The Sultan is a little man, twenty years old,¹ in the power of the nobles. There is a Khorassanian Boyar [*scil.* Persian noble from Khurāsān], Melik Tuchar [*scil.* Maliku-t Tujār, 'Lord of the merchants', or 'merchant-prince', a title of Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān], who keeps an army of 200,000 men; Melik Khan keeps 100,000; Kharat Khan, 20,000; and many are the khans that keep 10,000 armed men. The Sultan goes out with 300,000 men of his own troops.

The land is overstocked with people; but those in the country are very miserable, whilst the nobles are extremely opulent and delight in luxury. They are wont to be carried on their silver beds, preceded by some twenty chargers caparisoned in gold, and followed by 300 men on horseback, and by 500 on foot, and by horn men, ten torchbearers, and ten musicians.

The Sultan goes out hunting with his mother and his lady, and a train of 10,000 men on horseback, 50,000 on foot; 200 elephants adorned in gilded armour, and in front 100 horsemen, 100 dancers, and 300 common horses in golden clothing; 100 monkeys, and 100 concubines, all foreign.'

The armies were armed mobs. It is obvious that such an overgrown establishment of armed men, women, and beasts, controlled by a selfish minority of luxurious nobles, must have sucked the country dry. There is no difficulty in believing the positive statement that the common people were 'very miserable'. The mass of the people in the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar was equally oppressed and wretched. The huge armies maintained were little better than armed mobs, eager to murder tens of

¹ He was in his tenth year in 1463 (King, p. 98). The remark therefore applies to 1473 or 1474.

thousands of helpless peasants, but extremely inefficient in warfare. Similar unwieldy hosts were maintained by the neighbouring states, Muhammadan and Hindu. Various recorded incidents prove that such masses of undisciplined men had little military value, and often were routed by quite small forces of active assailants. But, on the whole, the armed mobs of the Muhammadan Sultans were a little more efficient than those of their Hindu opponents, and, in consequence, usually were victorious.

Fortresses and other buildings. It is characteristic of the nature of the rule of the Bahmanīs that Meadows Taylor, who judged the Sultans with excessive partiality, should declare that the fortresses built by them are 'perhaps their greatest and most indestructible monuments, and far exceed any of the same period in Europe'. He mentions Gāwilgarh and Narnāla, both in Berar, and especially the latter, as being choice specimens of the grandeur of design appropriate to mountain fortresses, and of work executed in good taste with munificent disregard of cost. The first gateway at Narnāla is decorated with elegant stone carving, which in Taylor's day was as perfect as it had ever been, and probably still is in the same condition. The works at Ausā and Parēndā are commended for the military science displayed in their trace. The fortresses were equipped with huge guns built up of bars welded and bound together, of which several specimens still exist.

The buildings at Kulbargā are described as being heavy, gloomy, and roughly constructed. Those at Bidar, the capital from about 1430, which are much superior in both design and workmanship, seem deserving of more notice than they have yet received. The accounts given by Fergusson and Burgess offer few details. Enamelled tiles, a favourite Persian form of decoration, were applied to the Bidar edifices.

The Muhammadan population of the Deccan. The Bahmanī Sultans failed in the atrocious attempt made more than once by members of the dynasty to exterminate the Hindu population of the Deccan, or in default of extermination to drive it by force into the fold of Islām. They succeeded in killing hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children, and in making considerable numbers of 'converts'; but in spite of all their efforts the population continues to be Hindu in the main, the percentage of Musalmāns in the Nizam's Dominions and the Bijāpur District at present being only about eleven. The origin of that section of the inhabitants, as noted by Meadows Taylor, is mainly a consequence of the Bahmanī rule, under which large numbers of Persians, Turks, Arabs, and Moguls settled in the country and formed unions with native women. Many Hindu families also were forcibly converted, and the continuance of Muslim dynasties in large areas for centuries has kept up or even increased the proportion of the Musalmān minority, Muhammadans being usually more fertile than Hindus. The author cited was willing to credit the Bahmanī influence with 'a general amelioration of manners' in the Deccan, but that opinion might be disputed. The monuments of Hindu civilization certainly suffered severely.

SULTANS OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY OF THE DECCAN

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Accession.</i>		<i>Remarks.</i>
1. Alāu-d dīn Hasan	A. H. 748	A. D. 1347	Full official title (according to the <i>Burhān-i Ma'āsir</i>) was Sultān Alāu-d dīn Hasan Shāh al-walī al Bahmanī. He had been known previously as Zafar Khān. Died a natural death.
2. Muhammad I	759	1358	Son of No. 1. Died from the effects of 'an irreligious manner of living', presumably meaning drink.
3. Mujāhid	775	1373	Son of No. 2. Drank hard : murdered by No. 4.
4. Dāūd	779 or 780	1377 or 1378	Son of brother of No. 2 : murdered by a slave.
5. Muhammad II	779 or 780	1377 or 1378	Brother of No. 4. Died a natural death. No wars or rebellions. Erroneously called Mahmūd by Firishṭa.
6. Ghiyāsu-d dīn	799	1397	Son of No. 5, and a minor. Blinded and deposed.
7. Shamsu-d dīn	799	1397	Brother of No. 6. Deposed and imprisoned, or blinded, according to Firishṭa.
8. Firōz	800	1397	Son of younger brother of No. 2. Deposed and strangled by No. 9.
9. Ahmad	825	1422	Brother of No. 8 : changed capital to Bidar. Died a natural death.
10. Alāu-d dīn II	838	1435	Son of No. 9. Died a natural death.
11. Humāyūn	862	1457	Son of No. 10, probably assassinated.
12. Nizām	865	1461	Son of No. 11, a minor. Died suddenly.
13. Muhammad III	867	1463	Brother of No. 12. Died from effects of drink.
14. Mahmūd	887	1482	Son of No. 13. Died a natural death in Dec. 1518, when the dynasty practically ended.

NOTE.—The names, genealogy, and order of succession are in accordance with the *Burhān-i Ma'āsir* and other authorities, supported by the coins. Firishṭa, who differs in certain matters, is in error. The dates also are given variously in the books ; the most serious discrepancy, amounting to four years, being that concerning the death of No. 10, and the accession of No. 11. Many discrepancies occur in the minute details of dates which are not shown in the table. Kalimullāh, the last nominal Sultan, escaped to Bijāpur, and thence retired to Ahmadnagar, where he died.

AUTHORITIES

The Persian histories are the leading authorities, FIRISHTA and others. The account of the dynasty in MEADOWS TAYLOR, *Manual of Indian History*¹ (Longmans, London, 1895), is based on Firishta, supplemented by local knowledge. Much additional material, completing the information from Persian books, has been printed by J. S. KING in *The History of the Bahmani Dynasty*, founded on the *Burhān-i Ma'āsir* (Luzac, London, 1900); reprinted from *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxviii (Bombay, 1899), with additions from other chroniclers. The history is further elucidated by T. W. HAIG in 'Some Notes on the Bahmani Dynasty' (*J. A. S. B.*, part i, vol. lxxiii, 1904); and in *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan* (Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1907).

Some interesting material is obtained from the notes of ATHANASIUS NIKITIN, a Russian merchant, as edited in *India in the Fifteenth Century*, by R. H. MAJOR, Hakluyt Soc. (issued for 1858).

The inscriptions are treated by Haig, as above; and by HOROWITZ, *Epigraphia Moslemica* (Calcutta, 1909-10, 1912), s. v. Bidar, Gāwīlgarh, Gulbarga, and Kolhāpur.

The coins are described and illustrated by O. CODRINGTON in *Num. Chron.* 1898; and by H. N. WRIGHT, *Catal. of Coins in I. M.*, vol. ii (Clarendon Press, 1907). Both writers give references to earlier papers.

The architecture has been discussed to some extent by FERGUSSON, and also by BURGESS (*A. S. W. I.*, vol. iii, London, 1878). The subject is being further examined by the ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS, and by the HYDERABAD ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

CHAPTER 2

The Five Sultanates of the Deccan, and Khāndēsh, from 1474 to the seventeenth century.

The five Sultanates. During the inglorious reign of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī (1482-1518), the provincial governors, as already mentioned, declared their independence one after the other, and set up five separate kingdoms or Sultanates, namely, the Imād Shāhī dynasty of Berar; the Nizām Shāhī of Ahmadnagar; the Adil Shāhī of Bijāpur; the Barīd Shāhī of Bīdar; and the Kutb Shāhī of Golkonda.

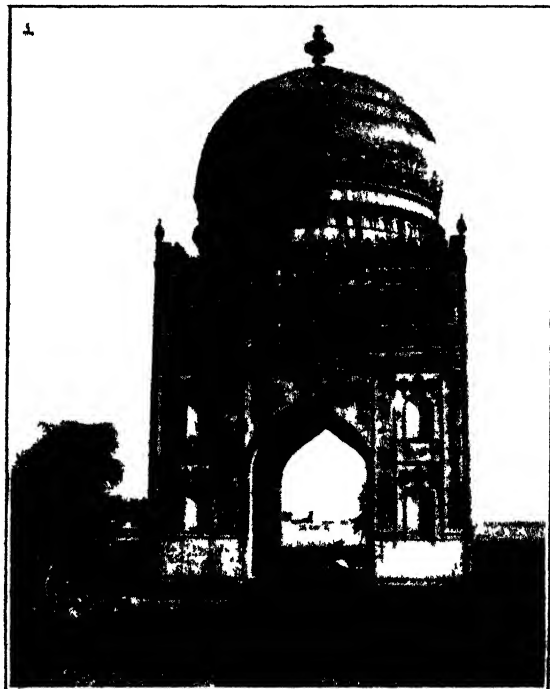
Imād Shāhī dynasty of Berar (Birār). The earliest defection was that of the province of Berar (Birār), the most northern portion of the Bahmanī dominions, and more or less equivalent to the ancient Vidarbha, famous in Sanskrit literature. Berar was one of the four provinces into which the first Bahmanī Sultan of the Deccan had divided his dominions. Late in the fifteenth century the province comprised two districts, namely, Gāwīlgarh, the northern, and Māhūr, the southern. Early in the reign of Mahmūd Bahmanī, in the year 1484, according to most authorities, or 1490, according to others, the governor of Gāwīlgarh, a converted Hindu, named Fathullāh and entitled Imādu-l Mulk, proclaimed his independence, and made himself master of the whole province.

He thus founded a dynasty, the Imād Shāhī, which lasted for four generations, until about 1574, when the principality was absorbed by Ahmadnagar. The details of its separate history, so far as recorded, are not of interest. The province was ceded in 1596 to Sultan Murād, son of Akbar. The imperial governor resided at first at Bālāpur, and later at Ilichpur (Ellichpur).



Barīd Shāhī dynasty of Bidar. The small principality governed by the Barīd Shāhī Sultans was simply the residuum of the Bahmanī Empire, consisting of the territory near the capital, left over after the more distant provinces had separated. Kāsim Barīd, minister of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī, was practically his own master from about the year 1492, which is given in some books as the date of the establishment of the dynasty. But he and his son Amīr long delayed to assume royal rank, and even after the death of Mahmūd in 1518 continued to set up and murder nominal

Bahmanī Sultans until 1526, when the formality was dispensed with, and Amīr openly assumed an independent position.¹ The dynasty lasted until about 1609 or a little later, when the territory was annexed by Bijāpur. The Barīd Sultans did little, if anything, deserving of remembrance ; but some of their buildings are noteworthy.



DARGĀH OF AMĪR BARĪD SHĀH, BĪDAR.

Kutb Shāhī dynasty of Golkonda. The three considerable states formed out of the fragments of the Bahmanī empire were Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur, and Golkonda (Gulkandah). The Golkonda Sultanate, although founded the last of all, in 1518, and the

¹ According to Firīshṭa, who depended on oral tradition for this dynasty, Amīr Barīd, who died in A. D. 1539 (A. H. 945), never called himself Sultan or by any equivalent title. His son, Alī Barīd, 'is the first of this dynasty who adopted the style of Shāh or King ; for though his grandfather Kāsim Barīd assumed regalia, he did not take the royal title'. Compare the case of the so-called Sayyid dynasty of Delhi, the members of which never assumed the royal title or struck coins in their own names.

latest survivor, may be noticed first, because it remained in a comparatively detached position, taking only a minor part in the endless wars and quarrels, in which Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur intervened more freely. But there was much fighting with Bijāpur, and in 1565 Golkonda joined the transitory confederacy of the four Muhammadan kings which brought about the defeat and destruction of the Vijayanagar Rāj.

The territory of Golkonda. The new kingdom was the representative and successor of the ancient Hindu Kakatiya principality of Warangal,¹ which had been reduced by Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī early in his reign, about 1423. The territory was extensive, lying for the most part between the lower courses of the Godāvari and Krishnā rivers, and extending to the coast of the Bay of Bengal, along the face of the deltas. The western frontier was mostly identical with the eastern boundary of the Bidar principality. A northern extension was enclosed between the Godāvari, Pen Gangā, and Wain Ganga rivers. The land was fertile, and the old irrigation works of Hindu times were maintained and extended by the Sultans.

The Sultans. The founder of the dynasty, a Turkī officer, who assumed the title of Sultan Kulī Kutb Shāh, had been appointed governor of the eastern province by Mahmūd Gāwān. He withdrew from the Bahmanī court after the wrongful execution of that minister, but continued to recognize the sovereignty of Mahmūd Shāh until 1518, when he refused to submit any longer to the Barīd ascendancy, and declared his independence.

The first Kutbī Sultan enjoyed a long life and prosperous reign, surviving until he had attained the age of ninety in 1543, when he was murdered at the instigation of his son Jamshīd. The parricide reigned for seven years. The crown was then (1550), after a short interval, offered to and accepted by a brother of Jamshīd named Ibrāhīm, who joined in the confederacy against Vijayanagar (1565), and died in 1580. His administration is reputed to have been good. In his time Hindus were freely employed in the service of the State and were permitted to attain high official rank. His son, Muhammad Kulī, lived until 1611, after which date the dynasty almost ceased to have a separate history, its affairs becoming entangled with those of the Mogul emperors of Hindostan. The State was finally annexed by Aurangzēb in 1687.

The capital. The capital had been moved from Warangal to Golkonda by the first Sultan at the beginning of his reign. The new city was greatly developed in the reign of Ibrāhīm, but in 1589 it had become unhealthy. The court was then transferred to Bhāgnagar a few miles distant, which soon afterwards was called Hyderabad. The city thus created developed later as the capital

¹ Warangal is a corruption of Orukkal, meaning 'solitary rock', with reference to a prominent feature of the site of the old capital. Few of the numerous inscriptions at Warangal have been published, but they will be examined by the new Archaeological Department and the Archaeological Society of Hyderabad.

of the Nizams and now has a population of nearly half a million, taking rank as the fourth city in India. Golkonda, largely in ruins, is best known for the tombs of the Kutb Shāhī kings.

The Nizām Shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar. Nizāmu-l Mulk Bahri, the head of the Deccanee party at Bīdar, who had contrived the death of Mahmūd Gāwān, came to a violent end himself not long after. His son Malik Ahmad, governor of Junnār (Joonair) to the north of Poona, then revolted. In 1490 he defeated decisively the army of Mahmūd Bahmanī, and established himself as an independent sovereign. After a time he moved his court to a more convenient and strategically better position further east, and so founded the city of Ahmadnagar. The new sovereign having assumed the title of Ahmad Nizām Shāh, the dynasty established by him is called the Nizām Shāhī. Ahmadnagar is still a considerable town and the head-quarters of a District in the Bombay Presidency.

The main efforts of Ahmad Nizām Shāh for years were directed to the acquisition of the powerful fortress of Dēogiri or Daulatābād, formerly the capital of the Yādava kingdom. Ultimately, he obtained the surrender of the place, in or about A. D. 1499, and thus consolidated his dominion.

The second and third Sultans. The second sovereign, Burhān Nizām Shāh, who reigned for forty-five years (1508–53), was engaged in many wars with the neighbouring States, and made a new departure about 1550 by allying himself with the Hindu Rāya of Vijayanagar against the Sultan of Bijāpur. Some years earlier (1537) Burhān had himself adopted the Shīa form of Islām. His successor, Husain Shāh, joined the confederacy which sacked Vijayanagar in 1565.

Later history. The subsequent history of the dynasty may be read in great detail in the pages of Firishta, who long resided at Ahmadnagar, but the incidents are not of much interest. Berar was absorbed in 1574. Chānd Bibī, the queen dowager of Bijāpur, who had returned to Ahmadnagar, made a gallant and successful resistance to Akbar's son, Prince Murād, in 1596, purchasing peace by the cession of Berar. But war soon broke out again, and in August 1600 the Mogul army stormed Ahmadnagar. Chānd Bibī then perished. According to some accounts she was murdered by a eunuch, according to others she took poison. Those events, which belong to the history of Akbar rather than to that of the minor kingdom, will be dealt with more fully when the story of his reign comes to be told. Akbar, although he formally gave Ahmadnagar the rank of a new Sūba or province, never obtained possession of more than a small portion of the kingdom. The remainder continued an obscure independent existence, and the State was not finally annexed until 1637 in the reign of Shāhjahān.

The Ādil Shāhī dynasty of Bijāpur ; the first Sultan. Bijāpur, the most important and interesting of the five sultanates or kingdoms, deserves more extended notice. The dynasty was known as the Ādil Shāhī, from the name of its founder, Yūsuf Ādil Khān,

governor of Bījāpur, who declared his independence in 1489, almost simultaneously with his colleagues in Berar and Ahmadnagar.

Yūsuf Ādil, so far as public knowledge went, was simply a Georgian slave who had been purchased by Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān, and by reason of his own abilities and the discerning patronage of the minister had risen to high office at the Bahmanī court, ultimately becoming governor of Bījāpur. But according to private information, accepted by Firishta on respectable authority, he was really a son of Sultan Murād II of Turkey, who annexed Salonica and died in 1451, leaving the succession to his son Muhammad, by whom Constantinople was taken two years later. If the romantic tale may be believed Yūsuf Ādil in his infancy had been saved by stratagem from the massacre of princes which usually occurred in Asiatic Turkey at the accession of a new sovereign, and had been brought up secretly in Persia, with the cognizance of his mother, who kept herself informed concerning his movements. When the disguised prince was seventeen years old he seems to have found continued residence in Persia to be unsafe, and therefore allowed himself to be disposed of as a slave and sold in Bidar to the minister of the Bahmanī Sultan. The story obviously is open to critical doubt, but it is not absolutely incredible, and whoever cares to do so can believe it. Firishta apparently was satisfied as to its truth.

Firishta's history. Firishta's history, written in a spirit of remarkable independence, presents an agreeable contrast when compared with Abu-l Fazl's too courtly *Akbarnāma*. It is neither possible nor desirable to reproduce in this book Firishta's detailed account of the doings of 'the illustrious monarchs who have reigned over Beejapoor'. Most of the wars and intrigues which seemed so important to the historian at the beginning of the seventeenth century are now seen to have had little or no effect on the development of India as a whole, and to be of only provincial interest. Except for purposes of purely local study, it is not worth while to master or remember the details of the incessant fighting between the five kingdoms of the Deccan. But certain matters in the story of Bījāpur and its rulers still deserve a place in the pages of even a short history of India.

Preference of Yūsuf Ādil Shāh for the Shīa religion. Yūsuf Ādil Shāh waged wars against Vijayanagar and his Muhammadan neighbours with varying fortune. When residing in Persia in his youth he had learned to prefer the Shīa form of Islām, and subsequently made a vow to profess publicly that faith. In 1502 he carried out his purpose, making the Shīa creed the State religion, while giving free and untrammelled toleration to the Sunnis. The change, although accepted by many of his subjects, aroused violent opposition, which resulted in a dangerous confederacy of the neighbouring princes against Bījāpur. The Sultan discreetly restored the Sunnī creed as the official religion and broke up the confederacy. When he had gained his purpose 'he renewed the public exercise of the Shīa religion'.

Capture of Goa by the Portuguese. In those days Goa was a favourite residence of Yūsuf Ādil Shāh, who at one time thought of making the port the seat of his government. It was the rendezvous of the Muhammadans of the Deccan who used to embark there for the pilgrimage to Mecca. In February 1510 (A.H. 915) the king's officers negligently permitted the Portuguese commander, Albuquerque, to surprise the city and occupy it without the loss of a man. The victor used his good fortune with moderation and forbade his soldiers under pain of death to do any injury to the inhabitants. But the Sultan, being determined to recover his much prized possession, prepared an overwhelming force and won back Goa in May of the same year 1510 (A.H. 916). Albuquerque's fleet, which was reduced to intense distress during the rainy season, received reinforcements in the autumn. The death of Yūsuf Ādil Shāh at the age of seventy-four, in October or November, weakened the defence, so that the Portuguese succeeded in storming the city after a hard fight. The resistance offered so incensed Albuquerque that he ordered a general massacre of the Muhammadan population without distinction of age or sex, and encouraged his soldiers to commit frightful cruelties. He treated the Hindus with kindness and established an effective government. The Portuguese thus finally won Goa in November 1510 (A.H. 916), and have retained it ever since.

Marriage with Marāthī lady. Instances of Muhammadan princes in the Deccan marrying Hindu wives have been mentioned. Yūsuf Ādil Shāh early in his reign defeated a Marāthā chieftain named Mukund Rāo, whose sister he espoused. She took the Musalmān name of Būbūjī Khānam, and became the mother of the second Sultan as well as of three princesses who were married to members of the royal families of the neighbouring Muhammadan States. Yūsuf Ādil Shāh freely admitted Hindus to offices of trust. The Marāthī language was ordinarily used for purposes of accounts and business.

Character of Yūsuf Ādil Shāh. The first Sultan or Shāh of Bijāpur is given a high character by Firishta, who testifies on good authority that he was 'a wise prince, intimately acquainted with human nature', handsome, eloquent, well read, and a skilled musician.

'Although he mingled pleasure with business, yet he never allowed the former to interfere with the latter. He always warned his ministers to act with justice and integrity, and in his own person showed them an example of attention to those virtues. He invited to his court many learned men and valiant officers from Persia, Turkistan, and Rūm, also several eminent artists, who lived happy under the shadow of his bounty. In his reign the citadel of Bijāpur was built of stone.'

He lies buried, not at Bijāpur, but at Gūgī or Gogī, farther to the east, near the grave of a saint whom he venerated.

'No mausoleum was built over him; and in the precincts of the holy burying-ground his open tomb is as simple as many others, and an endowment, which has been preserved, still provides a covering of cotton chintz

for it, renewed from year to year. Thus, as the people of Gogī assert, with an honourable pride, there are not as yet faithful servants wanting to the noble king to light a lamp at night at his grave, and to say *fatihas* for his soul's peace, while the tombs of the great Bahmanī kings and of all his enemies in life are desecrated.'¹

Ismāil Shāh. The new king, Ismāil, being a minor, the government was carried on by Kamāl Khān, an officer of the late ruler, as regent. He proved faithless, and conspired to seize the throne for himself, but lost his life in the attempt. Like other kings of the period Ismāil was fated to spend most of his time in fighting his neighbours. He recovered from Vijayanagar the Rāichūr Doab, the much disputed country between the Krishnā and Tungabhadrā. Ismāil was so much pleased at the arrival of an embassy from the Shāh of Persia, who recognized Bijāpur as an independent State, that he directed the officers of his army to wear the head-dress distinctive of the Shīa sect. He rests beside his father, whom he resembled in character and accomplishments. The son, Mallū, who succeeded him, proved to be incurably vicious and incompetent. Accordingly he was blinded and deposed, the sceptre passing into the hands of his brother Ibrāhīm after a few months.

Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh I. The new ruler, who assumed the title of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh, rejected foreign practices, including the use of the Shīa head-dress, and reverted completely to Sunnī ritual. He favoured the Deccanees, with their allies the Abyssinians, as against the Persians and other foreigners. Many of the strangers entered the service of Rāma Rāja the *de facto* ruler of Vijayanagar. At this time revolutions occurred at Vijayanagar which will be noticed more particularly in the history of that kingdom. In 1535 the Bijāpur Sultan accepted the invitation of the chief of one of the Hindu factions and paid a visit to Vijayanagar lasting a week. He departed enriched by an enormous present of gold coin, in addition to valuable horses and elephants. Subsequently the Sultans of Bīdar, Ahmadnagar, and Golkonda combined against Bijāpur, which emerged victorious, thanks to the ability of the minister, Asad Khān, whose reputation is scarcely inferior to that of Mahmūd Gāwān. It is needless to follow in detail the wars and intrigues which lasted throughout the reign. The Sultan towards the end of his life abandoned himself to drink and debauchery, ruining his health and temper. The unlucky physicians who failed to cure him were beheaded or trampled under foot by elephants. Ibrāhīm came to a dishonoured death in 1557, and was buried at Gogī by the side of his father and grandfather.

Alī Ādil Shāh. Alī Ādil Shāh, having succeeded his father, Ibrāhīm, began his administration by publicly resuming the Shīa creed, professing it with a degree of intolerance which his ancestor had carefully avoided. In 1558, the Sultan having made a transitory alliance with Rāma Rāja, the combined Hindu and Muhamadan armies invaded the territory of Ahmadnagar, which they

¹ Meadows Taylor, *Manual*, p. 198.

ravaged mercilessly—the Hindus taking the opportunity to avenge without pity all the injuries which they had suffered from Muslim hands in the course of two centuries. The barbarous excesses committed by Rāma Rāja and the insolence shown by him to his Muhammadan allies alienated Ali Ādil Shāh, who was advised that no single Musalmān sovereign was capable of contending with success against the wealth and hosts of the arrogant Hindu prince. Ultimately all the four Sultans of Bijāpur, Bīdar, Ahmadnagar, and Golkonda were convinced that their interests required them to sacrifice their rivalries and combine in an irresistible league in order to effect the destruction of the infidel. With a view to draw closer the bonds of alliance, Ali Ādil Shāh married Chānd Bibī, daughter of Husain Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, whose sister was given to the son of the Sultan of Bijāpur.

Alliance against Vijayanagar. In December 1564 the four allied sovereigns established their joint head-quarters at the small town of Tālikota, situated about twenty-five miles to the north of the Krishnā, in 16° 28' N. lat. and 76° 19' E. long. The town, now included in the Bijāpur District, Bombay, was then in the dominions of Ali Ādil Shāh, who received his allies as his guests.

The Vijayanagar Government, in full confidence of victory, prepared to meet the threatened invasion by the assemblage of enormous levies numbering several hundred thousand men. Two large armies were sent forward under the command of Rāma Rāja's brothers, Tirumala and Venkatādri, with orders to prevent the army of Islām from crossing the Krishnā. When the allied princes moved southwards to the bank of the river, twenty-five miles distant from Tālikota, they found that it was impassable except at the ford of Ingaligi, which was protected by an immense host. They endeavoured to mislead the enemy by marching along the bank as if seeking for another crossing-place, and succeeded by this simple stratagem in outwitting their Hindu opponents and passing the river unopposed. The aged Rāma Rāja then moved up from Vijayanagar with the main army, and encamped somewhere near the fortress of Mudgal, so often the subject of dispute between the Hindus and the Musalmāns.

Battle of Tālikota. Battle was joined in the space between the Ingaligi ford and Mudgal, marked by a little village called Bāyapur or Bhōgapur. The forces on both sides being unusually numerous the fighting must have extended over a front of many miles. The conflict took place on Tuesday, January 23, 1565, equivalent to 20 Jum. II, A.H. 972.¹

The Muslim centre was commanded by Husain Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, who possessed a powerful park of artillery; Ali Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur led the right wing; and the left wing was entrusted to Ali Barid Shāh of Golkonda.

¹ The artillery, fastened together by strong chains and ropes, was drawn

¹ Mr. Sewell correctly points out that the week-day was Tuesday, not Friday, as stated by Firishta.

up in front of the line, and the war elephants were placed in various positions, agreeable to custom. Each prince erected his particular standard in the centre of his own army, and the allies moved in close order against the enemy.'

Rāma Rāja, then an old man, although in full possession of his faculties, commanded the centre opposed to the king of Ahmadnagar. His brother Tirumala encountered Ali Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, while his other brother, Venkatādri, fought against the princes of Bīdar and Golkonda. After much strenuous fighting the Bijāpur and Golkonda chiefs gave way and thought of retiring, but the Ahmadnagar Sultan stood firm in the centre. Just then a furious elephant rushed at the litter in which Rāma Rāja was seated, so that his frightened bearers let him drop. He was thus taken prisoner, and at once beheaded by Husain Nizām Shāh with his own hands. The head was placed on the point of a long spear so that it might be seen by the enemy. It was carefully preserved at Ahmadnagar and annually exhibited to pious Muslims up to 1829 when Briggs published his translation of *Īrīshṭa*.

'The Hindus, according to custom, when they saw their chief destroyed, fled in the utmost disorder from the field, and were pursued by the allies with such success that the river was dyed red with their blood. It is computed by the best authorities that above one hundred thousand infidels were slain during the action and the pursuit.'

Results of the battle. The victory, known to history as the battle of Tālikota, because the allies had assembled at that town, distant about thirty miles from the battle-field, was one of the most decisive of the conflicts recorded in the whole course of Indian history. The Hindus made no attempt to dispute the verdict of the sword. The great Hindu empire of the South, which had lasted for more than two centuries, was definitely ended, and the supremacy of Islām in the Deccan was assured. The noble city of Vijayanagar was blotted out of existence and remains desolate to this day. The details of the destruction wrought will be described more fully in the history of Vijayanagar. The dominions of both Bijāpur and Golkonda were enlarged considerably.

League against the Portuguese ; death of the Sultan. In 1570 the sovereigns of Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar again joined their forces and attempted to capture the settlements of the Portuguese, then at the climax of their power. But even the help of the Zamorin of Calicut and the Rājā of Achīn did not suffice to enable them to win success. The envied and hated foreign infidels survived and prospered, until they had to yield the pride of place to other European powers. The siege of Goa by a huge army was raised after ten months, although the defence had been maintained by only seven hundred European soldiers, supported by three hundred friars and priests, a thousand slaves, and some ill-equipped boats. De Sousa records the curious fact that Ali Ādil Shāh sent to Archbishop Gaspar of Goa to fetch Fathers and books of the Law, but without any good result, because the request was made from

mere curiosity.¹ Alī Ādil Shāh was killed in 1579 by a eunuch who had good reason for his act.

Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh II. The heir to the throne, Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh II, being a minor, was taken charge of by his mother, Chānd Bibī, while ministers ruled the kingdom. In 1584 the queen mother returned to her native city of Ahmadnagar, and never visited Bijāpur again. We shall hear presently of her gallant doings in the conflict with Akbar. In 1595 the last fight between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar took place, and the Ahmadnagar monarch was killed. From that time the separate history of both States may be said to end, their annals becoming merged in those of the Mogul empire. Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh II survived until 1626, when he died, leaving a great reputation as an able administrator. The testimony of Meadows Taylor, who was well acquainted with the country and local tradition, may be quoted :

‘Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh died in 1626, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. He was the greatest of all the Ādil Shāhī dynasty, and in most respects, except its founder, the most able and popular.

Without the distraction of war, he applied himself to civil affairs with much care; and the land settlements of the provinces of his kingdom, many of which are still extant among district records, show an admirable and efficient system of registration of property and its valuation. In this respect the system of Todar Mull introduced by the Emperor Akbar seems to have been followed with the necessary local modifications.

Although he changed the profession of the State religion immediately upon assuming the direction of State affairs from Shīa to Sunnī, Ibrāhīm was yet extremely tolerant of all creeds and faiths. Hindus not only suffered no persecution at his hands, but many of his chief civil and military officers were Brahmans and Marāthās.² With the Portuguese of Goa he seems to have kept up a friendly intercourse. Portuguese painters decorated his palaces, and their merchants traded freely in his dominions. To their missionaries also he extended his protection ; and there are many anecdotes current in the country that his tolerance of Christians equalled, if it did not exceed, that of his contemporary Akbar. He allowed the preaching of Christianity freely among his people, and there are still existent several Catholic churches, one at Chitapur, one at Mudgal, and one at Rāichūr, and others, endowed by the king with lands and other sources of revenue, which have survived the changes and revolutions of more than 300 years. Each of these churches now consists of several hundred members and remains under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa.’

Ibrāhīm’s dominions extended to the borders of Mysore. At the time of his death he left to his successor a full treasury and a well-paid army of 80,000 horse.

¹ Transl. and quoted in Monserrate, *Commentarius*, p. 545, ed. Hosten (*Memoirs*, A. S. B., 1914). Gaspar was archbishop from 1560 to 1567, and again from 1574 to 1576 (Fonseca, p. 71).

² Ibrāhīm’s partiality for Hindus led his Muslim subjects to give him the mocking title of *Jagad-guru*, or ‘World-Preceptor’. Akbar conferred that title in all seriousness on his own favourite Jain instructor, and received it himself informally from Hindu admirers.

The splendid architectural monuments of his reign will be noticed presently.

It is not necessary to pursue the local history further. The capital was taken and the country was annexed by Aurangzēb in 1686.

THE ĀDIL SHĀHĪ KINGS OR SULTANS OF BIJĀPUR

	Accession.	
	A. D.	
1. Yūsuf	1490	Had been governor under the Bahmanī king.
2. Ismāil	1510	Son of No. 1.
3. Mallū	1534	Son of No. 2 ; deposed and blinded after six months.
4. Ibrāhīm I	1535	Brother of No. 3.
5. Alī	1557	Son of No. 4 ; assassinated. Destruction of Vijayanagar in 1565.
6. Ibrāhīm II	1580	Nephew of No. 5 ; good civil administration ; fine buildings.
7. Muhammad	1626	Son of No. 6 ; became tributary to Shāhjahān in 1636 ; Marāthā aggression began.
8. Alī II	1656	Son of No. 7 ; war with Sivājī.
9. Sikandar	1673	Made captive by Aurangzēb, and dynasty extinguished in 1686.

Fārūkī dynasty of Khāndēsh. Before quitting the subject of the Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan we may bestow a passing glance on the small kingdom of Khāndēsh in the valley of the Tāptī, whose rulers were known as the Fārūkī dynasty. The principality, which did not form part of the Bahmanī kingdom, was established in 1388 at the close of the reign of Sultan Firōz Tughlak of Delhi, and took a share in the innumerable local wars. It was sometimes a dependency of Gujarāt. The importance of the State resulted chiefly from its possession of the strong fortress of Asīrgarh. The seat of government was Burhānpur. The surrender of Asīrgarh to Akbar in January 1601 put an end to the dynasty and the independence of the State, which became the Sūba of Khāndēsh or Dāndēsh.

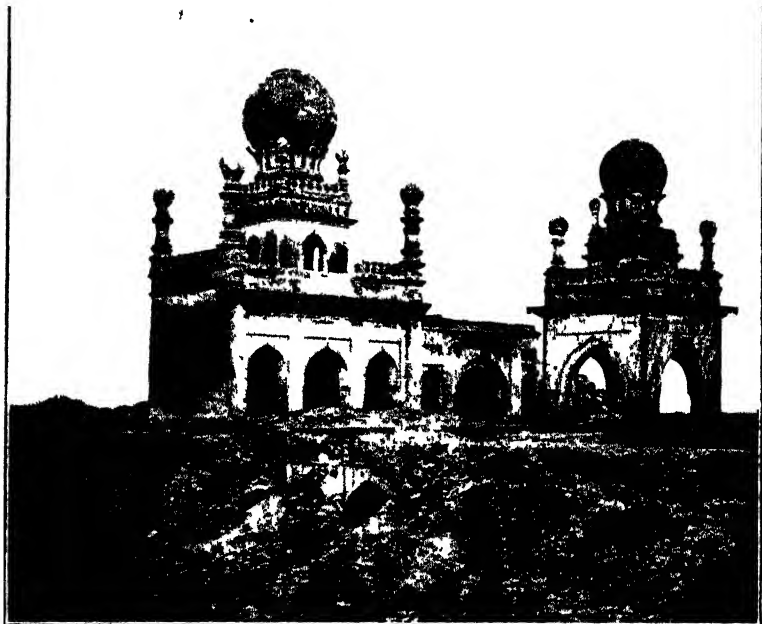
Art and Literature. The monuments of the Bahmanī dynasty at Kulbargā and Bīdar have been briefly noticed.

At Ahmadnagar the principal ancient building is the ruined Bhadr Palace in white stone, built by the founder of the city, which possesses few other architectural remains of importance. The chief mosque at Burhānpur, the capital of the Fārūkī kings of Khāndēsh, erected by Alī Khān in 1588, is described as a fine building adorned with stone carvings executed in perfect taste. But Fergusson formed the opinion that the edifices of the town have 'very little artistic value'.

At Golkonda and Bijāpur important schools of architecture developed, differing one from the other and from the styles of northern India. The precincts of the Golkonda fortress include a multitude of palaces, mosques, and other ancient buildings. The tombs of the Kutb Shāhī kings, which stand outside the fortress

about half a mile to the north, are built of granite and characterized by narrow-necked domes of peculiar form.

The works executed to the orders of the Ādil Shāhī kings of Bijāpur are 'marked by a grandeur of conception and boldness in construction unequalled by any edifices erected in India'. The gigantic walls of the city, begun by Yūsuf, the first Sultan, and completed by Ali, the fifth sovereign, are six and a quarter miles in circumference, and still perfect for the most part.



TOMBS IN GOLKONDA STYLE, BIJAPUR.

The four leading builders at Bijāpur were the Kings Yūsuf (1490–1510), Ali (1558–80), Ibrāhīm II (1580–1626), and Muhammad Shāh (1626–56). The principal mosque, an admirably proportioned building, erected by Ali, is still perfect, and would accommodate five thousand worshippers. The same sovereign constructed aqueducts for the supply of water to all parts of the city, and also built the spacious audience-hall or Gagan Mahall (1561). The richly decorated tomb of Ibrāhīm II is an exquisite structure; and the mausoleum of his successor, Muhammad (1626–56), built at the same time as the Tāj, is a marvel of skilful construction. The dome is the second largest in the world. The names of the architects employed do not seem to be recorded, and

it is impossible to say whether they were foreigners or of Indian birth. The style shows traces of both foreign and native ideas.

Fine libraries are known to have existed at Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur. One illuminated manuscript from the latter is in the British Museum. The excellent history of Muhammad Kāsim, surnamed Firishta, was written to the command of Ibrāhīm II of Bijāpur. The author mentions many earlier writers whose works are not now extant.

The town of Bijāpur, which long lay deserted and desolate, has revived in modern times, and is the prosperous head-quarters of a District in the Bombay Presidency, with considerable trade and a population of about 25,000 persons.

AUTHORITIES

The Five Sultanates and Khāndēsh

The principal authority is FIRISHTA, whose narratives are supplemented by observations recorded by SEWELL (*A Forgotten Empire*) and MEADOWS TAYLOR (*Manual of the History of India*). For relations with the Portuguese I have used FONSECA, *Sketch of the City of Goa* (Bombay, Thacker, 1878), a sound book based on the official records of the settlement.

The monuments are briefly described in FERGUSSON, *Hist. of Eastern and Ind. Archit.*, 1910, and other works there cited. The information about Bijāpur is tolerably full, and the principal buildings there are in good condition. See also V. A. SMITH, *H. F. A.*, Oxford, 1911. A good detailed catalogue of the Bijāpur buildings (with plan of city) will be found in the *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, 2nd ed., 1897 (vol. xvi, *A. S. India*, New Imp. Ser.). All works on Bijāpur are superseded by the magnificent volume *Bijāpur and its Architectural Remains, with an Historical Outline of the 'Adil Shāhi Dynasty*. By HENRY COUSENS, Bombay Government Central Press, 1916; pp. xii, 132; cxviii plates and 28 text illustrations; quarto, half-morocco. The coinage is described in the monograph by Mr. Cousens, pp. 127, 128, pl. cxv. The known specimens, issued by five of the Sultans, comprise three gold and two or three hundred copper coins, besides the curious *lārins*, made of stamped silver wire.

The newly formed ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF HYDERABAD has plenty of unpublished material of all kinds on which to work. The first number of the *Journal* contains an interesting article on Warangal.

CHAPTER 3

The Hindu empire of Vijayanagar, from A. D. 1336 to 1646.

Special interest of the history. Although the history of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar is closely entwined with that of the Muslim Bahmani empire and the later sultanates of the Deccan for more than two centuries, it is impracticable to combine the two histories in a single narrative. Separate treatment is inevitable, but a certain amount of repetition cannot be avoided. The story of the Hindu monarchy which set itself up as a barrier to check the onrush of the armies of Islām is one of singular

interest, and might be narrated with a fullness of detail rarely possible in Indian history. The multitude of relevant inscriptions, numbering many hundreds, is extraordinary. Several European and Muslim travellers from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century have recorded the historical traditions of the empire with vivid descriptions of the system of government and the glories of the magnificent capital. The study of the polity, manners, customs, and religion of the Vijayanagar empire merits particular attention, because the State was the embodiment of the Telinga or Telugu and Kanarese forms of Hinduism which differed widely from the more familiar forms of the north. The sources of our knowledge are not confined to inscriptions and the notes of foreign observers. The Muhammadan historians who lived in the Deccan, headed by Firishhta, give valuable information; and much may be learned from critical examination of the monuments and coins. A remarkable school of art was developed at Vijayanagar, and literature, both Sanskrit and Telugu, was cultivated with eminent success.

No complete history yet written. It is matter for regret that no history of the Vijayanagar empire in the form of a readable, continuous narrative, embodying the results of specialist studies after critical sifting, has yet been written. Mr. Robert Sewell's excellent book entitled *A Forgotten Empire, Vijayanagar*, published in 1900, which recalled attention to the long-neglected subject, and largely increased the store of historical material by making the Portuguese accounts accessible, is avowedly a pioneer work designed as 'a foundation upon which may hereafter be constructed a regular history of the Vijayanagar empire'. The profoundly learned essays by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, which deal with the annals of the first, second, and third dynasties, as published in the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1907-8, 1908-9, and 1911-12, add much to the information collected by Sewell, and go a long way towards removing the numerous difficulties which beset critical treatment of the subject. But those essays do not pretend to be more than a presentation of the data for a history, chiefly obtained from study of the inscriptions. The desired narrative in literary shape still is wanting, and much additional matter collected in the publications of other writers remains to be worked up.

My readers, therefore, will understand that it is not possible for me at present to offer a thoroughly satisfactory summary account of Vijayanagar history within the narrow limits of this chapter. Such an account cannot be prepared until the endless problems of detail and chronology presented by the original authorities have been disposed of by special studies and the net results incorporated in a well-digested narrative. I cannot attempt to go deeply into the difficulties. My account of the political history of the empire must be confined to a brief outline. The few pages available will be devoted chiefly to descriptions of the internal conditions of the State and of the havoc wrought by the Muhammadan victors in 1565.

Origin of the kingdom or empire. The traditionary accounts of the origin of the kingdom or empire vary widely. Sewell enumerates six or seven. There is, however, no doubt that the new power was the outcome of the efforts made by five brothers, sons of one Sangama, to stay the tide of Muslim invasion and to preserve Hindu *dharma* in the peninsula. Good authority exists for regarding the brothers as fugitives from the eastern Telinga or Telugu kingdom of Warangal, the capital of which was taken by the Muhammadans in 1323. Equally good, or perhaps better, authority views them as chieftains under the Kanarese dynasty of the Hoysala or Ballāla kings of the Mysore country, whose capital, Dhōra-Samudra, was sacked in 1327. It is certain that the activity of the five brothers was a reply to the Muhammadan attacks on both Warangal and Dhōra-Samudra. The mad tyranny of Muhammad bin Tughlak of Delhi prevented him from retaining control over his southern conquests. The Bahmanī kingdom founded by one of his revolted governors in 1347 upheld the standard of Islām independently of Delhi. When that kingdom broke up in the closing years of the fifteenth century, the five new sultanates formed from it, having inherited its traditions, were normally at war with Vijayanagar, and with the Telinga Rāj of Warangal, which reasserted itself at times, until 1425, when it was finally destroyed.

Foreign relations of Vijayanagar. The external history of the Vijayanagar empire, consequently, is mainly that of wars with the various Muhammadan dynasties of the Deccan. But from the middle of the fifteenth century both parties occasionally found it convenient to forget their principles and to enter into unholy temporary alliances. In the end the Muslims, who were more vigorous, better mounted, and better armed than the Hindus, won the long contest. Their destruction of the city of Vijayanagar in 1565, carried out with a completeness which no Prussian could surpass, effectually put an end to the Hindu empire of the south as such. But the victory did not immediately increase very largely the territory under Muslim rule. The peninsula to the south of the Tungabhadra continued to be essentially Hindu, governed by a multitude of Hindu chiefs, uncontrolled by any paramount power. While the foreign relations of Vijayanagar were in the main concerned with the Musalmān sultanates, the Hindu empire also had important dealings with the Portuguese, who first arrived on the Malabar coast in 1498, and established themselves permanently at Goa late in 1510. The transactions with the Portuguese bring the affairs of Vijayanagar into touch with the outer world; and we are indebted to Portuguese authors for the best accounts of the polity and manners of the great Hindu State.

Early chiefs; Harihara I and Bukka. The two most prominent of the five brothers who led the Hindu opposition were named Hakka or Harihara (I) and Bukka. The traditional date for their foundation of Vijayanagar on the southern, or safe, bank of the Tungabhadra,¹ facing the older fortress of Ānegundi on the

¹ The name of the city is sometimes written Vidyānagara or Vidyānagari.

northern bank, is A.D. 1336. The building of it was finished in 1343. It is certain that ten years later the brothers were in a position to claim control over 'the whole country between the Eastern and the Western Oceans'. They never assumed royal rank. Bukka died in 1376. Two years before his decease he thought it advisable to send an embassy to Tai-tsu, the Ming emperor of China.¹ Most of his life was spent in waging ferocious wars against the Bahmanī kings. During the reign of Muhammad Shāh (1358-73) it is supposed that half a million of Hindus were destroyed.² His successor, Mujāhid Shāh (1373-7), on one occasion penetrated the outer defences of Vijayanagar and was able to damage an image of Hanumān the monkey-god by a blow from his steel mace.

Harihara II, independent king. Harihara II (acc. 1379) was the first really independent sovereign of Vijayanagar who assumed full royal state or titles. His reign coincided almost exactly with that of Muhammad Shāh I, the fifth of the Bahmanī sultans, and the only peaceable man of his family. Harihara consequently had a quiet time so far as the Muhammadans were concerned, and enjoyed leisure for the task of consolidating his dominion over the whole of southern India, including Trichinopoly and Conjeeveram (Kānchī). He was tolerant of various forms of religion, but gave his personal devotion to Siva-Virūpāksha. He died in August 1404, and, as usual, the succession was disputed.

Deva Rāya I. The next sovereign to secure a firm seat on the throne was Deva Rāya I (Nov. 1406 to about 1410). He and his successors had to engage in constant fighting with the Bahmanī Sultan Firōz, who took the field against the Hindus almost every year. Early in his reign (1406) Firōz invaded the Hindu territory in great force and actually entered some of the streets of the capital, although unable to take the place. He remained encamped to the south of the city for four months, ravaging the land and taking prisoners by tens of thousands. Deva Rāya was constrained to sue for peace and to submit to the humiliation of giving his daughter in marriage to the Muslim sovereign. The Sultan visited Vijayanagar during the marriage festivities, but took offence because, when he was leaving, the Rāya did not accompany him the whole way back to his camp. Thus the marriage bond failed to heal the hereditary enmity.

Right and left-hand castes. Nothing particular is recorded about the doings of Deva Rāya's successor, Vijaya (1410 to about 1419), but it is worth while to note that an inscription of the reign mentions the existence of the right-hand and left-hand groups of castes as an institution then not new. So much speculation has been devoted unsuccessfully to attempted explanations of that curious grouping of castes in the south that it is important to know that the distinction was already well established in A.D. 1400.

Deva Rāya II. Deva Rāya II (1421-48) had to meet the

¹ Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, ed. 1910, vol. ii, p. 222.

² We must remember that the far south remained immune from the Bahmanī attacks and continued to supply men and riches to Vijayanagar.

attacks of Firōz Shah's brother and successor, Ahmad Shāh (1422-35) a ferocious brute who held high festival for three days whenever on any one day the victims—men, women, and children—in a defenceless population, numbered twenty thousand. The Hindu kingdom of Warangal was finally overthrown by him in 1425.

The war with the Musalmāns continued during the reign of Alāu-d dīn Bahmanī (1435-57), and ended unfavourably for the Hindu cause. Deva Rāya, impressed with the facts that the Islamite armies owed their success largely to being better mounted than their opponents and supported by a large body of expert archers, tried the expedient of enlisting Muhammadans in his service and equipping them in the Bahmanī fashion. But the experiment was not a success, and the Rāya had to submit to the payment of tribute. The visit of the Italian Nicolo Conti, to Vijayanagar took place at the beginning of Deva Rāya's reign, and that of Abdu-r Razzāk in 1443, towards its close.

The story of Vijayanagar during the second half of the fifteenth century is obscure. The kings were of little personal merit, palace intrigues were rife, and the Government was feeble.

The first usurpation of Narasinga Sāluva. 'Narasinga Sāluva, the powerful and semi-independent governor of Chandragiri in 1486, was obliged to depose the weak nominal sovereign reigning at the time and take the cares of government on his own shoulders, an event known as the First Usurpation. In the course of a few years he effected extensive conquests in the Tamil country to the south and restored the credit of the Government. His administration made so deep an impression on the public mind that the Vijayanagar empire was often designated by Europeans as the 'kingdom of Narsingh'. He was constantly at war with the Muhammadans. The new sultanate of Bijāpur, which began its separate existence from 1489 or 1490, now took the leading position on the Muslim side, the last Bahmanī kings being restricted to a small principality close to Bidar, their capital.

Second usurpation of Narasa Nāyaka. The power of Narasinga Sāluva was transmitted to his son Immadi Narasinga, who in 1505 was killed by his general, Narasa Nāyaka, a Tuluva. That was the Second Usurpation. The details of the transactions connected with both usurpations are obscure and controverted.

Krishna Rāya. The third or Tuluva dynasty thus founded produced one really great ruler, Krishna deva Rāya, whose reign began in 1509 and lasted until 1529. He was, therefore, the contemporary of Henry VIII of England. After his coronation early in 1510 Krishna Rāya stayed at home in his capital for a year and a half, learning his kingly duties and forming plans for the aggrandizement of his realm. He set to work methodically on his scheme of conquest and at an early date reduced the fortress of Udayagiri in the Nellore District. Many other strong-



Coin of Krishna
deva Rāya.



PORTRAIT IMAGE OF
KRISHNA DEVA RĀYA.

holds surrendered to his arms. His most famous fight took place on May 19, 1520, and resulted in the recovery of the much disputed fortress of Rāichūr from Ismail Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur. The Hindus gained a glorious victory in a contest so deadly that they lost more than 16,000 killed. The story of the fight, vividly told by the contemporary Portuguese chronicler, Nuniz, is too long to be repeated here. The Rāya, a man of a generous and chivalrous temper, used his victory with humanity and moderation. In the course of subsequent operations he temporarily occupied Bijāpur, which was mostly destroyed by the soldiers tearing down buildings in order to get fuel for cooking; and he razed to the ground the fortress of Kulbargā, the early capital of the Bahmanīs.

In 1529 the noble Rāya 'fell sick of the same illness of which all his ancestors had died, with pains in the groin, of which die all the kings of Bisnaga'.

Description of the Rāya by Paes. Paes gives a good personal description of Krishna Rāya :

'This king is of medium height, and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin; he has on his face signs of small-pox. He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners, and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage, and this is his title:

"Crisnarao Macação, king of kings, lord of the greater lords of India, lord of the three seas and of the land."

He has this title because he is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in armies and territories, but it seems that he has in fact nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things.'

It is pleasant to read such unreserved praise in the writings of a foreigner.

Character of Krishna Rāya. The dark pages of the sanguinary story of the mediaeval kingdoms of the Deccan, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, are relieved by few names of men who claim respect on their personal merits. The figure of Krishna Rāya stands out pre-eminent. A mighty warrior, he

'was in no way less famous for his religious zeal and catholicity. He respected all sects of the Hindu religion alike, though his personal leanings were in favour of Vaishnavism. . . . Krishna Rāya's kindness to the fallen enemy, his acts of mercy and charity towards the residents of captured cities, his great military prowess which endeared him alike to his feudatory chiefs and to his subjects, the royal reception and kindness that he invariably bestowed upon foreign embassies, his imposing personal appearance, his genial look and polite conversation which distinguished a pure and dignified life, his love for literature and for religion, and his solicitude for the welfare of his people ; and, above all, the almost fabulous wealth that he conferred as endowments on temples and Brahmans, mark him out indeed as the greatest of the South Indian monarchs, who sheds a lustre on the pages of history.' ¹

In his time the Vijayanagar empire comprised substantially the same area as the modern Presidency of Madras, with the addition of Mysore and the other native States of the peninsula.

Achyuta Rāya. Krishna Rāya was succeeded by his brother, Achyuta, a man of weak and tyrannical character, lacking even in personal courage. He soon lost the fortresses of Mudgal and Rāichūr, situated between the Krishnā and the Tungabhadrā, which had been recovered by his able brother at a great price. Obscure intrigues led to an invitation to Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh to visit Vijayanagar as the ally of one of the factions at court. He came, and was induced to retire by the payment of an immense subsidy in cash, amounting to something like two millions sterling, besides other valuable gifts.

Sadāsiva Rāya. When Achyuta died in 1542 his place was taken by his brother's son, Sadāsiva, who was a merely nominal king, the whole control of the government being in the hands of Rāma Rāja (or Rāya) Sāluva, son of Krishna Rāya's able minister, Sāluva Timma, and closely connected with the royal family by marriage. In 1543 Rāma Rāja made an alliance with Ahmadnagar and Golkonda in order to effect a combined attack on Bijāpur, which was saved from destruction by the abilities of Asad Khān, a clever and unscrupulous minister. Fifteen years later (1558) Bijāpur and Vijayanagar combined to attack Ahmadnagar. The territory of that State was so cruelly ravaged by the Hindus, and Rāma Rāja treated his Muslim allies with such open contempt, that the Sultans were convinced of the necessity for dropping their private quarrels and combining against the arrogant infidel.

Alliance of the four sultans. In 1564 the combination was duly effected, the parties to it being the four sultans or kings of Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, and Bidar. The ruler of Berar did not join. The allies began their southward march on Christmas

¹ Krishna Sastri in *Ann. Rep. A. S. India* for 1908-9, p. 186.

Day, 1564. In January, 1565, they assembled their combined forces at the small town of Tālikota in Bijāpur territory to the north of the Krishnā. That circumstance has given the current name to the ensuing battle, although it was fought on the south of the river at a distance of about thirty miles from Tālikota.

'At Vijayanagar there was the utmost confidence. Remembering how often the Moslems had vainly attempted to injure the great capital, and how for over two centuries they had never succeeded in penetrating to the south, the inhabitants pursued their daily avocations with no shadow of dread or sense of danger; the strings of pack-bullocks laden with all kinds of merchandise wended their dusty way to and from the several seaports as if no sword of Damocles was hanging over the doomed city; Sadāsiva, the king, lived his profitless life in inglorious seclusion, and Rāma Rāja, king *de facto*, never for a moment relaxed his haughty indifference to the movements of his enemies. "He treated their ambassadors", says Firishta, "with scornful language, and regarded their enmity as of little moment." '1

Battle of Tālikota, 1565. If mere numbers could have assured victory, the confidence of the rulers and people of Vijayanagar would have been justified. Estimates of the forces at the command of Rāma Rāja vary, but it seems certain that his vast host numbered between half a million and a million of men, besides a multitude of elephants and a considerable amount of artillery. On the other side, the Sultan of Ahmadnagar brought on the ground a park of no less than six hundred guns of various calibres. The total of the allies' army is supposed to have been about half that of the Vijayanagar host.

The battle was fought on January 23, 1565, on the plain between the Ingaligi ford and Mudgal. At first the Hindus had the advantage, but they suffered severely from a salvo of the Ahmadnagar guns shotted with bags of copper coin, and from a vigorous cavalry charge. Their complete rout followed on the capture of Rāma Rāja, who was promptly decapitated by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar with his own hand. No attempt was made to retrieve the disaster. About 100,000 Hindus were slain, and the great river ran red with blood. The princes fled from the city with countless treasures loaded upon more than five hundred elephants, and the proud capital lay at the mercy of the victors who occupied it almost immediately.

'The plunder was so great that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, effects, tents, arms, horses, and slaves; as the sultans left every person in possession of what he had acquired, only taking elephants for their own use.'

Ruin of Vijayanagar. The ruin wrought on the magnificent city may be described in the words of Sewell, who is familiar with the scene of its desolation. When the princes fled with their treasures,

'then a panic seized the city. The truth became at last apparent. This was not a defeat merely, it was a cataclysm. All hope was gone.

¹ Sewell, p. 200.

The myriad dwellers in the city were left defenceless. No retreat, no flight was possible except to a few, for the pack-oxen and carts had almost all followed the forces to the war, and they had not returned. Nothing could be done but to bury all treasures, to arm the younger men, and to wait. Next day the place became a prey to the robber tribes and jungle people of the neighbourhood. Hordes of Brinjāris, Lambādīs, Kurubas, and the like pounced down on the hapless city and looted the stores and shops, carrying off great quantities of riches. Couto states that there were six concerted attacks by these people during the day.

The third day saw the beginning of the end. The victorious Musalmans had halted on the field of battle for rest and refreshment, but now they had reached the capital, and from that time forward for a space of five months Vijayanagar knew no rest. The enemy had come to destroy, and they carried out their object relentlessly. They slaughtered the people without mercy; broke down the temples and palaces; and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings, that with the exception of a few great stone-built temples and walls, nothing now remains but a heap of ruins to mark the spot where once the stately buildings stood. They demolished the statues, and even succeeded in breaking the limbs of the huge Narasimha monolith. Nothing seemed to escape them. They broke up the pavilions standing on the huge platform from which the kings used to watch the festivals, and overthrew all the carved work. They lit huge fires in the magnificently decorated buildings forming the temple of Vitthalaswāmi near the river, and smashed its exquisite stone sculptures. With fire and sword, with crowbars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city; teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next seized, pillaged, and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors begging description.'

The pathetic language of the Hebrew prophet lamenting the ruin of Jerusalem applies accurately to the Indian tragedy:

'How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people! how is she become as a widow! she that was great among the nations, and a princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary! . . . The young and the old lie on the ground in the streets: my virgins and my young men are fallen by the sword. . . . How is the gold become dim! how is the most fine gold changed! the stones of the sanctuary are poured out in the top of every street.'¹

Rāma Rāja's brother, Tirumala, who along with Sadāsiva the nominal king took refuge at Penugonda, himself usurped the royal seat some few years after the battle. This third usurpation, the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, may be dated in or about 1570. The most remarkable king of the new dynasty was the third, by name Venkata I, who came to the throne about 1585. He seems to have moved his capital to Chandragiri, and was noted for his patronage of Telugu poets and Vaishnava authors. It is unnecessary to follow the history of his successors, who gradually degenerated into merely local chiefs. In 1639 a Nāik subordinate to Chandragiri granted the site of Madras to Mr. Day, an English factor. In 1645

¹ Lam. i. 1; ii. 21; iv. 1.

that transaction was confirmed by Ranga II, who was the last representative of the line with any pretensions to independence. Much of the Deccan was overrun by the Muhammadans and passed under the sovereignty of the Sultans of Bijāpur and Golkonda, who in their turn were overthrown by Aurangzēb in 1686 and 1687.

The most important of the principalities formed by Hindus in the far south out of the fragments of the Vijayanagar empire was that of the Nāyaks of Madura. Tirumala Nāyak is justly celebrated for his buildings, which exhibit much dignity of design and splendour in execution.

The Rāja of Āngundi is now the representative of Rāma Rāja's dynasty.

The city in the fourteenth century. The grandeur of the city, the splendour of the buildings, the wealth of the bazaars, the volume of trade, and the density of the population are amply attested by a series of witnesses beginning in the fourteenth century, when Vijayanagar was only a few years old, down to the date of its irremediable ruin, and also by survey of the existing remains. No contemporary written account, except inscriptions, dating from the fourteenth century, has survived, but much traditional information relating to that time is embodied in the works of authors who wrote in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The city, after its foundation in or about 1336, 'speedily grew in importance and became the refuge of the outcasts, refugees, and fighting men of the Hindus, beaten and driven out of their old strongholds, by the advancing Muhammadans'. The historian Firishta admits that as early as 1378 the Rāyas of Vijayanagar were greatly superior in power, wealth, and extent of country to the Bahmanī kings. Goa was then temporarily in possession of the Rāya, and his capital drew much wealth from commerce passing through the ports of the western coast.

Bukka II (1399-1406) improved and enlarged the fortifications of Vijayanagar. His most notable work was the construction of a huge dam in the Tungabhadra river, forming a reservoir from which water was conveyed to the city by an aqueduct fifteen miles in length, cut out of the solid rock for a distance of several miles. Firishta's account of the ceremonial at the marriage between Firōz Shāh Bahmanī and the daughter of Deva Rāya I gives some idea of the magnificence of the capital in 1406. We are told that the road for six miles was spread with cloth of gold, velvet, satin, and other rich stuffs, the sides of the way being lined with innumerable shops. The Rāya bestowed on his guest vast treasures in jewels and other precious things.

Nicolo Conti's description, 1420. The earliest foreign visitor whose notes have been preserved was an Italian named Nicolo Conti or dei Conti, who was at Vijayanagar about 1420, in the reign of Deva Rāya II. He estimated the circumference of the city to be sixty miles, and was much impressed by the strength of the fortifications, which were carried up the hills so as to enclose the valleys at their base. He considered the Rāya to be more powerful

than any other monarch in India. The traveller observes that the king had 12,000 wives, of whom no less than 2,000 or 3,000 were required to burn themselves with him when he died.¹ The idol processions and three annual festivals were celebrated with exceeding splendour.

Abdu-r Razzāk in 1443. The next visitor was the learned Abdu-r Razzāk of Herat, who was sent by the Great Khān (Khākān Sa'id) or Sultan Shāhrukh, son of Tīmūr, as ambassador to the Zamorin or Sāmūrī of Calicut, a busy port on the Malabar coast. While the envoy was residing at Calicut a herald brought intelligence that the king of Vijayanagar required that he should be sent instantly to his court. The Zamorin, although at that time not directly subject to the authority of the Rāya, dared not disobey. Abdu-r Razzāk, accordingly, sailed to Mangalore, 'which is on the borders of the kingdom of Bijanagar', and thence travelled by land to his distant destination, through the country now known as Mysore. A few miles from Mangalore he saw a wonderful temple, a perfect square measuring about ten yards by ten, and five yards high, constructed wholly of 'molten brass'.

At Belūr he admired greatly a magnificent temple, which he dared not describe 'without fear of being charged with exaggeration'. Presumably he saw the fine structure erected in A.D. 1117 by the Hoysala King Bittiga, which still exists and has been surveyed by the archaeological department of Mysore.² In due course, towards the end of April 1443, the traveller arrived at Vijayanagar, where he was hospitably received and comfortably lodged. 'The city', he observes, 'is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls, one within the other.' The writer goes on to illustrate his description by a comparison with the citadel of Herat.

'The seventh fortress is placed in the centre of the others, and occupies ground ten times greater than the chief market of Hirāt. In that is situated the palace of the king. From the northern gate of the outer fortress to the southern is a distance of two statute *parasangs* [about 7 or 8 miles], and the same with respect to the distance between the eastern and western gates. Between the first, second, and third walls there are cultivated fields, gardens, and houses. From the third to the seventh fortress, shops and bazaars are closely crowded together. By the palace of the king there are four bazaars, situated opposite one to another. On the north is the portico of the palace of the Rāi.³ At the head of each bazaar there is a lofty arcade and magnificent gallery, but the palace of the king is loftier than all of them. The bazaars are very long and broad, so that the sellers of flowers, notwithstanding that they place high stands before their shops, are yet able to sell flowers from both

¹ Sutte (saff) was terribly common in the empire. The sacrifice was effected by burning in a pit, or, among the Telugus, by burial alive.

² There is no need to suppose that any place other than Belūr is meant. It is 80 or 90 miles by road from Mangalore.

³ This sentence is from the version in Sewell. The rendering in *E. & D.* does not give sense. The rest of the quotation is from *E. & D.*

sides. Sweet scented flowers are always procurable fresh in that city, and they are considered as even necessary sustenance, seeing that without them they could not exist. The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another. The jewellers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emeralds openly in the bazaar.

In this charming area, in which the palace of the king is contained, there are many rivulets and streams flowing through channels of cut stone, polished and even. . . . The country is so well populated that it is impossible in a reasonable space to convey an idea of it. In the king's treasury there are chambers, with excavations in them, filled with molten gold, forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazaar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists, and fingers.'

Account by Paes in 1522. Passing by the accounts given by certain other travellers, we come to the detailed description recorded by Domingos Paes, a Portuguese, about 1522, in the reign of Krishna Rāya, just after the capitulation of Rāichūr, when the empire was at the height of its glory. The observations of Paes are far too long to copy, and it is not possible to find room for mention of more than a few particulars. His account, which is obviously truthful, may be accepted with confidence. It is well worth reading in full as translated by Sewell.

Size of the city ; the palace. Paes found a difficulty in estimating the size of the city, because the hills prevented him from seeing the whole at once. So far as he could judge, it was as large as Rome. The houses were said to exceed 100,000 in number. If that guess be near the truth, the population cannot have been less than half a million. The numerous lakes, water-courses, and orchards attracted his admiration. As to the people, he could only say that they were countless. He considered Vijayanagar to be 'the best provided city in the world . . . for the state of this city is not like that of other cities, which often fail of supplies and provisions, for in this one everything abounds'. Paes was shown round a large part of the palace enclosure, which contained thirty-four streets. He saw one room which was 'all of ivory, as well the chamber as the walls from top to bottom, and the pillars of the cross-timbers at the top had roses and flowers of lotuses all of ivory, and all well executed, so that there could not be better—it is so rich and beautiful that you would hardly find anywhere another such'.¹

Space fails to tell of the other wonders of the palace, which the Muhammadans took special pains to destroy utterly. Nuniz, another Portuguese, who wrote some thirteen years later, in the reign of Achyuta Rāya, mentions that all the utensils used in the royal service were of gold or silver. Some of the golden vessels were of immense size.

The court. The ceremonial of the court was extremely elaborate, and everything was done with barbaric magnificence. The royal words, as at the Mogul court, were carefully noted down by

¹ Compare the 'ivory palaces' of Psalm xlv, 8.

secretaries, whose record was the sole evidence of the commands issued. Nuniz declares that

'no written orders are ever issued, nor any charters granted for the favours he (the King) bestows or the commands he gives; but when he confers a favour on any one it remains written in the registers of these secretaries. The King, however, gives to the recipient of a favour a seal impressed in wax from one of his rings, which his minister keeps, and these seals serve for letters patent.'

In that respect the practice differed widely from that followed in the northern courts, where regular office routine was observed. The king always dressed in white. On his head he wore 'a cap of brocade in fashion like a Galician helmet, covered with a piece of fine stuff, all of fine silk, and he was barefooted'. His jewels, of course, were the finest possible.

The army. The permanent army in the king's pay is said to have numbered 'a million fighting troops, in which are included 85,000 cavalry in armour'. On a special occasion the sovereign could raise a second million. Paes declares that in 1520 Krishna Rāya actually assembled for the operations against Rāichūr 703,000 foot, 32,600 horse, and 551 elephants, besides an uncounted host of camp-followers, dealers, and the rest. The statement of Megasthenes that Chandragupta Maurya in the fourth century B.C. kept and paid 600,000 foot, 30,000 horse, and 9,000 elephants, besides chariots, may be compared. Chariots had gone out of use before the time of the Rāyas. Nuniz gives many details in confirmation of his general statements on the subject, which agree substantially with those of Paes. The efficiency of the huge army described was not proportionate to the numbers of the force. The soldiers were in terror of the Muslims, and their action against a fortress like Rāichūr was ludicrously feeble. The men are described as being physically strong and individually brave. Sometimes they fought gallantly, but the army as an organized force was inefficient.

Administration. The empire was divided into about two hundred provinces or districts, each under a great noble, who was bound to furnish a certain amount of revenue and a fixed contingent of troops. The king also maintained a large force attached to his person. Each provincial governor could do much as he pleased within his territory, but was himself at the mercy of the king, who was an autocrat of the most absolute possible kind, unrestrained by any form of check. No mention is made of courts of justice. The Rāya kept a certain amount of lands in his own hands, like the *khālṣa* of the Mogul empire. Whenever he wished he could deprive the nobles of their property, and he was regarded as the sole proprietor of the soil. The governors were expected to pay over to the treasury half of their gross revenue, and to defray all the expenses of their households, contingents, and government from the other half. While the great people were inordinately rich and luxurious, the common people suffered from grievous tyranny and were exposed to much hardship. Nevertheless, they multiplied freely, for all accounts agree that the empire was densely

populated and well cultivated. The ordinary people were trained to show the utmost submissiveness to their superiors, and to work hard for their benefit.

Assessment. The assessment on the peasantry was crushingly heavy. Nuniz declares that they 'pay nine-tenths to their lord', but the exact meaning of that statement is not clear. They could not possibly have paid nine-tenths of the gross produce. The theoretical share of the State recognized by Hindu law all over India as a rule was one-sixth of the produce, but in practice the Government usually took much more. Wilks, who had access to sources of information not now available, states that in very ancient times the cultivators had the option of paying either in kind or in cash. In A.D. 1252 'Boote Pandi Roy' fixed money rates for Kanara on the basis of 30 seers of 'grain' for the rupee. In 1336 Harihara I of Vijayanagar fixed his cash demand on the basis of the rate of 33½ seers for the rupee, which was more favourable to the ryot. Payments in kind were absolutely forbidden. The existence of the rate stated as from 1336 is 'perfectly authenticated'. The money rent is said to have been equivalent at the Harihara price to the traditional one-sixth of the produce. When Wilks wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century the current price was much the same as it had been in the fourteenth century, a remarkable fact. Harihara, while maintaining the traditional rate of assessment, secured a large increase of income by imposing a multitude of vexatious cesses, reckoned by Wilks as twenty. He thus pursued a policy directly the contrary of that adopted by Akbar, who boldly doubled the State proportion of the produce, raising it from one-sixth to one-third, while professing to relieve the cultivator by abolishing all cesses. There is good reason for believing that Akbar's orders for the abolition of cesses were not acted on, and that his assessment, as worked, was extremely severe. Harihara's measures probably had the same effect, and resulted in the extraction from the peasant of the last copper to be had. It is said that the ordinary practice in the south was to leave the cultivator only half of his crop.¹ The Sultans of Kashmir in Akbar's time followed the same rule, which Akbar did not relax in that province.

Punishments. The extreme ferocity of the punishments inflicted for offences against property was well designed to protect the rich against the poor.

'The punishments that they inflict in this kingdom', Nuniz states, 'are these: for a thief, whatever theft he commits, howsoever little it be, they forthwith cut off a foot and a hand; and if his theft be a great one he is hanged with a hook under his chin. If a man outrages a respectable woman or a virgin he has the same punishment, and if he does any other such violence his punishment is of a like kind. Nobles who become traitors are sent to be impaled alive on a wooden stake thrust through the belly; and people of the lower orders, for whatever crime they commit, he forthwith commands to cut off their heads in the market-place, and the same

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, 1916, p. 36, quoting Caldwell.

for a murder unless the death was the result of a duel. . . . These are the more common kinds of punishments, but they have others more fanciful ; for when the King so desires, he commands a man to be thrown to the elephants, and they tear him to pieces. The people are so subject to him that if you told a man on the part of the King that he must stand still in a street holding a stone on his back all day till you released him, he would do it.' ¹

The narrative of Knox proves that similar horrors were constantly perpetrated under the kings of Ceylon. He gives horrible pictures of a man with a heavy stone on his back, and of execution by elephants and impalement. Indeed all, or almost all, ancient Hindu governments from very early times seem to have been equally cruel, as may be learned from many testimonies. The appalling torture involved in hanging an offender on a hook under his chin until he died seems to have been peculiar to Vijayanagar. When the severity of the penalties inflicted by the Vijayanagar kings is considered, it is not surprising to learn that there were ' very few thieves in the land '. Chandragupta Maurya attained the same result by similar drastic methods.

Duelling. The exceptional custom of duelling, which has been alluded to, deserves more particular notice. Nuniz states that ' great honour is done to those who fight in a duel, and they give the estate of the dead man to the survivor ; but no one fights a duel without first asking leave of the minister, who forthwith grants it '. The usage was not confined to Vijayanagar. Duels fought with swords were common among the Nāyars of Malabar until recent times, probably as late as the nineteenth century. The practice was imitated by the Musalmāns of the Deccan early in the sixteenth century, much to the horror of Firishta, who denounces ' this abominable habit ', as being unknown in any other civilized country in the world. He attributed the introduction of the ' vile custom ' into Ahmadnagar to Ahmad Nizām Shāh, who was fond of the single-sword exercise and encouraged the young men to fight with swords in his presence. A general custom of duelling thus became fashionable in the Deccan, even among learned divines and philosophers, as well as among nobles and princes. The historian tells a story that in the streets of Bijāpur six men of good position, three on each side, lost their lives in the course of a trivial quarrel, within a few minutes.

I have not met with other references to the custom, which seems to have been unknown in northern India.

Legalized prostitution. Prostitution was a recognized institution and an acceptable source of revenue. The women attached to the temples, as Paes informs us,

' are of loose character, and live in the best streets that are in the city ; it is the same in all their cities, their streets have the best rows of houses.

¹ Knox, *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon, in the East Indies* (London, 1681), gives terribly realistic drawings of ' the execution by an elephant ' ; ' one impaled on a stake ' ; and of ' the manner of extorting their fine '. The last-named plate shows a poor man crouching with a heavy stone on his back, while his rich creditor stands over him.

They are very much esteemed, and are classed among those honoured ones who are the mistresses of the captains; any respectable man may go to their houses without any blame attaching thereto. These women (are allowed) even to enter the presence of the wives of the King, and they stay with them and eat betel with them, a thing which no other person may do, no matter what his rank may be. . . . Some of them eat flesh; they eat all kinds except beef and pork, and yet, nevertheless, they cease not to eat this betel all day.'

Some such women were immensely rich; one was reputed to possess 100,000 gold pieces.

Abdu-r Razzāk gives further details on the subject.

'Opposite the mint', he writes, 'is the office of the Prefect of the City, to which it is said 12,000 policemen are attached; and their pay, which equals each day 12,000 *fanams*, is derived from the proceeds of the brothels. The splendour of these houses, the beauty of the heart-ravishers, their blandishments and ogles, are beyond all description. It is best to be brief on the matter.

One thing worth mentioning is this, behind the mint there is a sort of bazaar, which is more than 300 yards long and 20 broad. On two sides of it are houses (*khānahā*), and fore-courts (*safhahā*), and in front of the houses, instead of benches (*kursī*), lofty seats are built of excellent stone, and on each side of the avenue formed by the houses there are figures of lions, panthers, tigers, and other animals, so well painted as to seem alive. After the time of mid-day prayers, they place at the doors of these houses, which are beautifully decorated, chairs and settees on which the courtesans seat themselves. Every one is covered with pearls, precious stones, and costly garments. . . . Any man who passes through this place makes choice of whom he will. The servants of these brothels take care of whatever is taken into them, and if anything is lost they are dismissed. There are several brothels within these seven fortresses, and the revenues of them, which, as stated before, amount to 12,000 *fanams*, go to pay the wages of the policemen. The business of these men is to acquaint themselves with all the events and accidents that happen within the seven walls, and to recover everything that is lost, or that may be abstracted by theft; otherwise they are fined.'

An interesting comparison might be made between the statements of the Persian envoy and the regulations in the *Arthasāstra* concerning the City Prefect and the courtesans in Maurya times. Then, as at Vijayanagar, the public women played an essential part in court ceremonial. The Maurya Government levied from each woman the earnings of two days in the month, that is to say, between six and seven per cent. of her income at least. Shāhjahān, also, was not ashamed to draw revenue from the same source.

Laxity in diet. The reader may have noticed the observation of Paes that some of the women used to eat flesh of all kinds except beef and pork. Although vegetarian Brahmins were numerous at Vijayanagar and greatly pampered by the authorities, the diet of the general population and of the kings departed widely from the Brahmanical standard. Animal food was very freely used. Paes dwells with pleasure on the variety of meat and birds procurable in the markets. The sheep killed daily were countless. Every street had sellers of mutton, so clean and fat that it looked like pork. Birds and game animals were abundant and cheap;

those offered for sale included three kinds of partridges, quails, doves, pigeons, and others, 'the common birds of the country', besides poultry and hares. In the city fowls were purchasable at about a halfpenny each, and in the country they were still cheaper. The same author mentions that pork also was sold and that pigs kept in certain streets of butchers' houses were 'so white and clean that you could never see better in any country'.

His statements are confirmed by Nuniz, who writes that :

'These Kings of Bisnaga eat all sorts of things, but not the flesh of oxen or cows, which they never kill in all the country of the heathen because they worship them. They eat mutton, pork, venison, partridges, hares, doves, quail, and all kinds of birds ; even sparrows, and rats, and cats, and lizards, all of which are sold in the market of the city of Bisnaga.

Everything has to be sold alive so that each one may know what he buys—this at least so far as concerns game—and there are fish from the rivers in large quantities.'

That was a curious dietary for princes and people, who in the time of Krishna Rāya and Achyuta Rāya were zealous Hindus with a special devotion to certain forms of Vishnu. The kings of the first dynasty preferred to honour Siva.

Bloody sacrifices. The numerous bloody sacrifices, similar to those still performed in Nepāl, were equally inconsistent with the ordinary practice of Vaishnava religion. Paes mentions that all the sheep required for the market supply of mutton for Hindu consumption were slaughtered at the gate of one particular temple. The blood was offered in sacrifice to the idol, to whom also the heads were left. The same writer states that on a certain festival the king used to witness the slaughter of 24 buffaloes and 150 sheep, the animals being decapitated, as now in Nepāl, by a single blow from a 'large sickle' or *dāo*. On the last day of the 'nine days' festival 250 buffaloes and 4,500 sheep were slaughtered.¹ Such practices prove clearly that the Hinduism of Vijayanagar included many non-Aryan elements. At the present day lizards and rats would not be eaten by anybody except members of certain debased castes or wild jungle tribes,² and such objects certainly are not now to be seen in the market anywhere in India, north, south, east, or west.

When and how did practices of the kind die out ?

¹ Bishop Whitehead states that in the Telugu country as many as 1,000 sheep are sometimes sacrificed at once on the occasion of an epidemic (*Village Deities*, Madras, 1907, p. 136, as corrected in 2nd ed., Oxford University Press, 1916, p. 56). All the practices mentioned in the text seem to be Telugu or Kanarese. The modern Tamils usually are becoming averse to bloody sacrifices. The Kanarese still offer them freely.

² e. g. the Vaddas, who are numerous in Mysore, and said to come from Orissa, will eat any animal food, except beef or tortoise. 'Sheep, goats, pigs, squirrels, wild cats, lizards, and mice are equally welcome to them' (*Ethnogr. Survey of Mysore*, Prelim. Issue, No. XI, p. 10, Bangalore, Govt. Press, 1907). Sewell (p. 13) suggests that the kings may have belonged to the Kuruba tribe or caste, who are shepherds and blanket-weavers primarily. For the Kurubas see *Ethnogr. Survey*, No. I, 1906.

The government of Vijayanagar Telinga and foreign. Doubts may be felt as to whether the founders of Vijayanagar had been in the service of the Hoysala king or in that of the Rājā of Warangal, but it is certain that they were foreigners in the Kanarese country, the Carnatic, properly so called. Wilks, who was in a position to speak with authority on such matters, and believed that Bukka and his brethren were fugitives from Warangal, writes :

‘This origin of the new government at once explains the ascendancy of the Telinga [Telugu] language and nation at this capital of Carnatic, and proves the state of anarchy and weakness which had succeeded the ruin of the former dynasty. The government founded by foreigners was also supported by foreigners ; and in the centre of Canara a Telinga court was supported by a Telinga army, the descendants of whom, speaking the same language, are to be traced at this day nearly to Cape Comorin, in the remains of the numerous establishments, resembling the Roman colonies, which were sent forth from time to time for the purpose of confirming their distant conquests, and holding the natives in subjection. The centre and the west, probably the whole of the dominions of the late dynasty, including the greater part of the modern state of Mysoor, were subdued at an early period ; but a branch of the family of Bellal [=Hoy-sala] was permitted to exercise a nominal authority at Tonoor until 1387, in which year we begin to find direct grants from the house of Vijayanuggur as far south as Turkanamby beyond the Caveri. The last of thirteen rajas or rayeels of the house of Hurryhur [Harihara I], who were followers of Siva, was succeeded in 1490 by Narsing Raja, of the religious sect of Vishnoo, the founder of a new dynasty, whose empire appears to have been called by Europeans *Narsinga*, a name which, being no longer in use, has perplexed geographers with regard to its proper position.

Narsing Raja seems to have been the first king of Vijayanuggur who extended his conquests into *Drauveda* [Drāvida, the Tamil country], and erected the strong forts of Chandragerry and Vellore ; the latter for his occasional residence, and the former as a safe place for the deposit of treasure ; but it was not until about 1509 to 1515 that Kistna Rayeel [Krishna Rāya] reduced the whole of Drauveda to real or nominal subjection.’

The fact that the kings and nobles of Vijayanagar were foreigners lording it over a subject native population would explain the abject servility of the commonalty and the severity of the government. It should be observed, however, that the Telugu or Telinga people themselves are noted for their submissiveness to official authority.¹

Patronage of literature. The Rāyas of Vijayanagar, although their title was Kanarese in form, gave their patronage to Sanskrit and Telugu literature rather than to Kanarese. Sāyana, the celebrated commentator on the Vedas, who died in A.D. 1387, was minister in the early part of the reign of Harihara II, and his learned brother Mādhava served Bukka. The first dynasty had

¹ Wilks, reprint, vol. i, p. 9. See the good article ‘Telugu’ in Balfour, *Cyclopaedia*, based on Caldwell’s works. The dates given by Wilks require some slight correction.

close associations with the great monastery of Srīngēri. The achievements of Narasīnga Sāluva, the founder of the second dynasty, were enthusiastically celebrated by Telugu poets. Krishna Rāya, himself a poet and author, was a liberal patron of writers in the Telugu language. His poet laureate, Alasāni-Peddana, is regarded as an author of the first rank. The tradition of the court was carried on by Rāma Rāja and the other Rāyas of the fourth or Aravidu dynasty. Rāma Rāja and his brothers were themselves accomplished scholars, and under their protection a great revival of Vaishnava religion was accomplished.

Architecture and art. The kings of Vijayanagar from the beginning of their rule were distinguished as builders of strong fortresses, immense works for irrigation and water supply, gorgeous palaces, and temples decorated with all the resources of art, both sculpture and painting. It is impossible in this place to attempt description of their creations. They evolved a distinct school of architecture which used the most difficult material with success, and were served by a brilliant company of sculptors and painters. Enough of the sculpture survives to show its quality, but the paintings necessarily have disappeared. The descriptions recorded by the Portuguese authors and Abdu-r Razzāk permit of no doubt that the painters in the service of the kings of Vijayanagar attained a high degree of skill. The scenes from the Rāmāyana, sculptured in bas-relief on the walls of Krishna Rāya's Chapel Royal, the Hazāra Rāma-swāmī temple, built in 1513, are much admired. No adequate account of the buildings and sculptures at Vijayanagar has yet been prepared. Such a work, properly illustrated, would fill several large volumes.

THE RĀYAS OF VIJAYANAGAR

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Acc. A. D.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
<i>Chiefs, not of royal rank</i>		
HARIHARA I, his brother	1336	Traditionary date for foundation of Vijayanagar.
BUKKA (BHUKKA, or BUKKANA) I, and three other brothers, sons of Sangama; succession apparently disputed	1343	Bukka I died 1376.
<i>Rāyas of royal rank</i>		
<i>First dynasty; descendants of Sangama</i>		
HARIHARA II, son of Bukka I	1379	Worshippers of Siva Virūpāksha.
BUKKA II, son of Harihara II Disputed succession	?1404	A brother named Virūpāksha also a claimant.
DEVA RĀYA I	1406	
VĪRA VIJAYA	1410	

THE RĀYAS OF VIJAYANAGAR (*continued*).

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Acc. A. D.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
<i>Rāyas of royal rank</i>		
<i>First dynasty ; descendants of Sangama</i>		
DEVA RĀYA II (alias Immadi, Pratāpa, or Praudha) ; at first associated with Vira Vijaya ; became sole ruler	1424	Empire prosperous and extensive.
MALLIKĀRJUNA, son of Deva Rāya II	1447	Sāluva Narasingha minister in power from about 1455.
VIRŪPĀKSHA	1465	Decay of empire.
PRAUDHADEVA RĀYA (Padea Rao)	?	
<i>Second or Sāluva dynasty</i>		
NARASINGHA SĀLUVA	1486	Worshippers of Vishnu.
IMMADI NARASINGHA, alias Tammaya (Dharma) Rāya ; son of Narasingha Sāluva	?1492	Power in hands of Narasa.
<i>Third or Tuluva dynasty</i>		
NARASA NĀYAKA	1505	Course of events open to doubt.
<i>General revolt</i>		
VĪRA NARASINGHA (Bhujabala)	?1506	
KRISHNA DEVA RĀYA	1509	
Battle of Rāichūr	1520	Climax of the empire.
ACHYUTA ; brother of Krishna Rāya	1529	
SADĀSIVA, son of another brother of Achyuta	1542	Nominal king ; Rāma Rāja in power.
Battle of Tālikota	1565	Break up of empire.
Death of Rāma Rāja ; confusion	1565	
<i>Fourth dynasty ; Aravīdu or Karnāta</i>		
TIRUMALA, brother of Rāmarāja	about 1570	Capital at Penugonda, now in Anantapur District.
RANGA, son of Tirumala	about 1578	
VENKATA I, brother of Ranga	1585	Capital removed to Chandragiri.
<i>Other princes</i>		
RANGA	1642	Local chief.
Practical end of dynasty	1646	Ranga's inscriptions continue to 1684.

NOTE.—Dates and many details, especially those relating to disputed successions, are often doubtful.

<i>Vijayanagar.</i>		<i>Bahmanī.</i>	<i>Bijāpur.</i>	
Harihara I, &c.	1336			
Bukka I	1343	Alāu-d dīn I 1347		
		Muhammad I 1358		
		Mujāhid 1373		
		Dāūd 1377		
Harihara II	1379	Muhammad II 1378		
		Ghiyāsu-d dīn 1397		
		Shamsu-d dīn 1397		
		Firōz 1397		
Bukka II	?1404			
Deva Rāya I	1406			
Vīra Vijaya	1410	Ahmad 1422		
Deva Rāya II	1424			
		Alāu-d dīn II 1435		
Mallikārjuna	1447	Humāyūn 1457		
		Nizām 1461		
		Muhammad III 1463		
Virūpāksha	1465			
Praudha deva Rāya	?	Mahmūd 1482		
Narasingha Sāluva	1486		Yūsuf 1490	
Immadi Narasingha	?1492			
Narasa Nāyaka	1505			
Vīra Narasingha	?1506			
Krishna deva Rāya	1509			
			Ismail 1510	
Achyuta	1529		Mallū 1534	
			Ibrāhīm I 1535	
Sadāsiva	1542		Ali 1557	
Tirumala	c. 1570			
Ranga	c. 1573		Ibrāhīm II 1580	
Venkata I	1585		Muhammad 1626	
Others	—			
Ranga	1642			

AUTHORITIES

The leading authorities used are SEWELL, *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar)*, London, 1900, which alone gives the Portuguese narratives; and three articles, chiefly based on inscriptions and Telugu literature, by H. KRISHNA SASTRI in *Annual Rep. A. S. India* for 1907-8, 1908-9, and 1911-12. Early discussions of the subject will be found in H. H. WILSON's *Introduction to the Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie MSS.*, 1828, reprint 1882;

and in WILKS, *Historical Sketches . . . History of Mysoor*, 1810-14, reprint, 1869. The account in MEADOWS TAYLOR'S *Manual*, good when written, is no longer up to date. I have also consulted S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, *A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagar History*, Madras, S.P.C.K. Press, 1916; RICE, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, London, 1909; the same author's *Mysore Gazetteer*, revised ed., London, 1897; and many articles in the *A. S. Progress Reports of the Southern Circle* (Madras); *Indian Antiquary*, &c.

The coins are described by HULTZSCH, *Ind. Ant.*, xx (1891); and V. A. SMITH, *Catal. Coins in I. M.*, vol. i, Oxford, 1906. The art of the dynasty is briefly noticed in *H. F. A.* New inscriptions are published continually. Many dates and other matters of detail remain unsettled, and cannot be disposed of until somebody takes the trouble to write a bulky monograph. The small book (144 pp. 8vo) by A. H. LONGHURST, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Southern Circle (Madras Government Press, 1917), entitled *Hampi Ruins described and illustrated*, has 69 illustrations, and is good as far as it goes. The price is 3 rupees or 4s. 6d.

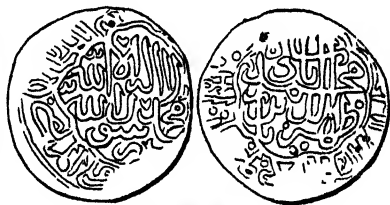
BOOK VI

THE MOGUL EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

The Beginnings of the Mogul Empire ; Bābur, Humāyūn, and the Sūr Dynasty, A.D. 1526-56.

Bābur. Bābur, king of Kābul, whose aid Daulat Khān invoked against Sultan Ibrāhīm of Delhi, was the most brilliant Asiatic prince of his age, and worthy of a high place among the sovereigns of any age or country. His proper name was Zahīru-d dīn Muḥammad, but the world knows him only by his Mongol nickname or cognomen of Bābur, which he adopted officially.¹ Fifth in descent from Timūr in the direct male line, and claiming kinship with Chingiz Khān through a female, he united in his person the blood of the two most dreaded Asiatic conquerors. He was cradled in war, and at the age of eleven was called to the throne of Samarkand. In the course of a stormy youth filled with romantic adventures he lost that throne twice. In 1504 he made himself master of Kābul, and so came into touch with India. The wealth of Ind naturally tempted his adventurous spirit and suggested more than one raid. In 1519, following in the footsteps of Alexander, he besieged and took Bājaur, slaying its infidel defenders without mercy. He then crossed the Indus and claimed the Panjāb as his inheritance in virtue of his descent from Timūr. But his operations at that time were only in the nature of a reconnaissance, as were those on two subsequent occasions. His entry into the Panjāb in 1524, on the invitation of Daulat Khān, the governor of that province, and Ālam Khān, an uncle of Sultan Ibrāhīm, was intended to be a serious invasion. The speedy defection of Daulat Khān, however, compelled Bābur to retire to Kābul for reinforcements, so that his final invasion was not begun until November 1525.



Coin of Bābur.

Invasion of India. Even then his total force, including camp-followers, did not exceed 12,000 men, a tiny army with which to attempt the conquest of Sultan Ibrāhīm's realm, comprising, as expressed in modern terms, the Panjāb, the United Provinces

¹ The name Bābur has no connexion with the Persian word *babar*, meaning 'lion' or 'tiger', but has the same meaning.

of Agra and Oudh, and parts of Rājputāna. Moreover, the vast mass of Hindu India lay behind the Afghan dominions. The enterprise, indeed, seemed to be rash, and Bābur candidly admitted that many of his troops were 'in great tremor and alarm'. Yet the bold attack succeeded.

Battle of Pānīpat, 1526. The hostile armies came to grips on April 21, 1526, on that plain of Pānīpat where the prize of India has been so often the reward of the victor. Bābur possessed a large park of artillery, the new-fangled weapon then coming into use in Turkey and Europe, but previously unknown in northern India. Its power had already made itself felt at the siege of Bājaur. Carts, 700 in number, drawn by bullocks, were lashed together by chains, so as to form a barrier in front of the enemy,¹ gaps being left sufficient for the cavalry to charge through. On the other side, Sultan Ibrāhīm brought into the field an immense host believed to number at least 100,000 men, supported by nearly 100 elephants. Although the exact numbers drawn up by Bābur in battle array are not stated, there is no doubt that they were immeasurably outnumbered by the enemy. But the Afghan Sultan, 'a young inexperienced man, careless in his movements, who marched without order, halted or retired without method, and engaged without foresight', was no match for Bābur, a born general, and a veteran in war although his years were few. The battle, which raged from half-past nine in the morning until evening, again demonstrated the inherent weakness of an ill-compacted Hindu host when attacked by an active small force under competent leadership, and making full use of bold cavalry charges. The decisive movement, the furious cavalry wheel round the flank of the enemy, delivering a charge in his rear, was exactly the same as that employed by Alexander against Pōros at the battle of the Hydaspes, and had the same result. When the sun set Sultan Ibrāhīm lay dead on the field, surrounded by 15,000 of his brave men, and the Hindu host had been scattered. 'By the grace and mercy of Almighty God', Bābur wrote, 'this difficult affair was made easy to me, and that mighty army, in the space of half a day, was laid in the dust.'

Occupation of Delhi and Agra. Delhi and Agra were promptly occupied, and the immense spoil was divided among all ranks of the victorious army with lavish generosity. The heat being terrible, the troops, who longed for the cool Kābul hills, began to murmur. Like Alexander, Bābur sought to rouse their pride by a stirring address, and, unlike his great predecessor, succeeded in persuading his men to follow the path of glory, and despise the dangers which beset them in a strange land.

Bābur secured the support of the Afghan chiefs by judicious management, and so was free to devote himself to the task of subduing Hindu India, a work more formidable even than the conflict with the army of the Sultan.

¹ Mrs. Beveridge rejects the earlier interpretation of '*arāba* as meaning guns; but the word may be rendered 'gun-carriages'.

Rānā Sanga. The leader of the Hindu confederacy was Rānā Sangrām Singh, commonly called Sanga, the head of the chivalry of the Mewār or Chitōr state, now usually designated as Udaipur, which was then, as it is to this day, the acknowledged premier kingdom of Rājasthān. The Rānā was worthy of his honoured position. He had already been the hero of a hundred fights, and could be truly described as 'the fragment of a warrior', lacking an eye and an arm, crippled by a broken leg, and scarred by eighty wounds from lance or sword.

He commanded an enormous host, composed of the contingents of 120 chiefs, and including 80,000 horse with 500 war elephants. The small army of Bābur was much dispirited at the prospect of the unequal fight. Its commander encamped twenty-three miles to the west of Agra at Sikrī, where Akbar afterwards built his wondrous palace-city of Fathpur.

Bābur's vow. Bābur, conscious that the lives of himself and of every man under his command depended on victory, resolved to renounce his besetting sin. He broke his cups, poured out his stores of liquor on the ground, and vowed never again to touch strong drink. He kept his pledge.

Battle of Khānua. Battle was joined on March 16, 1527, at Khānua or Kanwāha, a village nearly due west from Agra and now in the Bharatpur State, just across the British border. The tactics which had won the victory at Pānīpat were repeated with the same result. The rout of the Hindu host was complete and final, although the gallant Rānā escaped from the field and survived for two years until 1529.¹

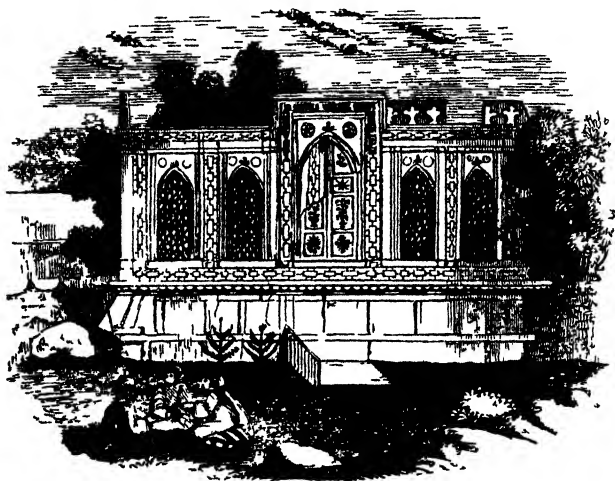
Battle of the Ghāghra. Bābur followed up his victory by crossing the Jumna and storming the fortress of Chandēri, now in the Gwālīor State. The Afghan chiefs of Bihār and Bengal were the next enemies to be attacked. They suffered defeat in 1529 on the banks of the Gogra (Ghāghra) near the junction of that river with the Ganges above Patna. The series of victories thus gained made Bābur master of a wide realm extending from the Oxus to the frontier of Bengal and from the Himalaya to Gwālīor.

Death of Bābur. During 1530 Bābur was ailing. A well-known anecdote attributes his fatal illness to his parental devotion. His eldest son, Humāyūn, who was at Sambhal suffering from fever, was conveyed by boat to Agra where his father resided. Bābur entered the sick-room, and walked three times round the patient's bed, saying, 'On me be all that thou art suffering'. The son having recovered while his father died, people believed that the prayer of love had been answered. On December 26, 1530, Bābur breathed his last in his garden-house at Agra. His body was conveyed in accordance with his commands to Kābul, where it rests in the garden which he loved at the foot of one of the turreted hills guarding the city. A favourite consort sleeps by his side.

¹ He died in A. H. 935 and Samvat 1586. The time common to those two years extends from March 11 to September 4, 1529.

More than a century later, in 1646, his descendant Shāhjahān marked the spot by a pretty mosque and shrine of white marble.

Character of Bābur. 'Bābur', Mr Lane-Poole observes, 'is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial government, between Tamerlane and Akbar. The blood of the two great Scourges of Asia, Chingiz and Timūr, mixed in his veins, and to the daring and restlessness of the nomad Tatar he joined the culture and urbanity of the Persian. He brought the energy of the Mongol, the courage and capacity of the Turk, to the listless Hindu, and himself a soldier of fortune and no architect of empire, he yet laid the first stone of the splendid fabric which his grandson Akbar achieved. . .



TOMB OF BĀBUR.

His permanent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, which opened the way for an imperial line; but his place in biography and in literature is determined rather by his daring adventures and persevering efforts in his earlier days, and by the delightful *Memoirs* in which he related them. Soldier of fortune as he was, Bābur was not the less a man of fine literary taste and fastidious critical perception. In Persian, the language of culture, the Latin of Central Asia, as it is of India, he was an accomplished poet, and in his native Turkī he was master of a pure and unaffected style alike in prose and verse.¹

His cousin, himself an excellent historian, records that Bābur 'excelled in music and other arts. Indeed, no one of his family before him ever possessed such talents, nor did any of his race perform such amazing exploits or experience such strange adventures.'

¹ Havelock, *The War in Afghanistan*, London, 1840, vol. ii, pp. 147, 149, 814-16; Masson, *Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 238.

Bābur's Memoirs. The *Memoirs* referred to, having been originally written in Turkī, were transcribed by his son Humāyūn with his own hand, and were translated into Persian with scrupulous accuracy by the Khān Khānān under the direction of Akbar. They were rendered into good English by Leyden and Erskine in 1826, and into French in 1871. A revised version by Mrs. Beveridge has been published.

Struggle for dominion in N. India, 1530-76. Bābur had neither time nor inclination for the work of consolidation or civil administration. All his energy was required to make good his military occupation of Upper India. When he died he had secured possession by force of arms of the Gangetic plain as far as the border of Bengal, which he did not attempt to conquer; but his position was extremely insecure, and could be maintained by his successors only through victorious fighting. The struggle of his descendants to establish a firmly seated dynasty with fairly complete control of northern India lasted from his death at the close of 1530 until 1576 when Akbar had been twenty years on the throne.

Accession and position of Humāyūn. Humāyūn, when he succeeded to his father's throne and his contested claim to the lordship of India, was nearly 23 years of age, and had served an apprenticeship in the arts of war and government. He had three brothers, Kāmran, Hindāl, and Askari. Kāmran, the eldest, was already in possession of Kābul and Kandahār as governor, and Humāyūn found himself constrained to let him take the Panjāb also. Minor charges were assigned to the younger boys. The separation of Kāmran's dominions left Humāyūn as king of Delhi in a difficult position, because he was threatened on one side by the strong kingdom of Gujarāt and on the other by the Afghan chiefs of Bihār and Bengal, while he was deprived of the resources in men and money which Afghanistan and the Panjāb could supply.

Character of Humāyūn. The personal adventures of Humāyūn and his rather ineffectual struggles against his manifold difficulties are narrated at length in Elphinstone's work. But they do not much concern the history of India, and a brief outline of the main facts will suffice for our purpose. Humāyūn, although a cultivated gentleman, not lacking in ability, was deficient in the energetic



BĀBUR

promptitude of his versatile father. His addiction to opium probably explains his failures to a considerable extent. When either he or Bābur is described as a cultivated gentleman, and there is much to justify the description, it must be understood that all these Timūrid princes were Asiatic despots, imbued with the sanguinary traditions of their family, class, and age. None of them—not even Akbar—had much regard for human life, and they were all capable of ordering ferocious massacres and inflicting cruel punishments.

Wars with Gujarāt and Shēr Khān. Humāyūn was under the necessity of continually fighting to retain his position in Upper India—the South never concerned him. In 1535 he made a brilliant raid into Gujarāt and exhibited his personal valour by forming one of the party which escalated the strong fortress of Champanēr (about NE. of Baroda). He was unable to hold Gujarāt because of more pressing danger arising from the revolt of Shēr Khān, an Afghan chief in Bihār, who was established at Sahasrām, and had acquired the forts of Chunār and Rohtās. Humāyūn took Chunār and spent a long time during 1538 at Gaur in Bengal, where he thought more of pleasure than of business. He was forced to retreat westwards.

Shēr Shāh. Shēr Khān, who had assumed the title of king (Shāh or Sultan) and will henceforward be designated as Shēr Shāh, intercepted Humāyūn at Chausā on the Ganges (in the Shāhābād District), utterly defeated him, and compelled him to fly for his life in June, 1539. Nearly a year later, May 1540, Shēr Shāh again defeated Humāyūn still more decisively opposite Kanauj, now in the Farrukhabad District, U. P., and was recognized to be so strong that Kāmran ceded the Panjāb to him.

The wanderings of Humāyūn. Humāyūn became a homeless wanderer, fleeing first to Sind and then to Mārwar (Jodhpur) in Rājputāna. The hunted ex-king, unable to obtain effective aid from any chief, was exposed to every kind of indignity and hardship, until he was forced to return to the deserts of Sind with a small band of dispirited followers. In the midst of his misery his son Akbar was born at Umarkōt on November 23, 1542.¹

Humāyūn, after further adventures, retired to Persia in 1544 and claimed protection from Shāh Tahmāsp, who granted the request on condition that his suppliant should conform to the Shīa sect of Islām. Humāyūn, not being in a position to resist, was constrained to comply with the demand of his host and to promise that Kandahār when recovered should be handed over to Persia. The Shāh placed at his disposal a considerable force, with the aid of which Kandahār was taken in the autumn of 1545. Humāyūn after a short time broke faith with his protector and seized the city for himself. Kāmran, his brother, was then expelled from Kābul, and Humāyūn recovered his little son Akbar, who had been detained by his uncle and exposed to many perils. Years

¹ The official date is October 15. See my work, *Akbar the Great Mogul*; and *Ind. Ant.*, 1915, pp. 233–4, with corrections of misprints in *Errata*.

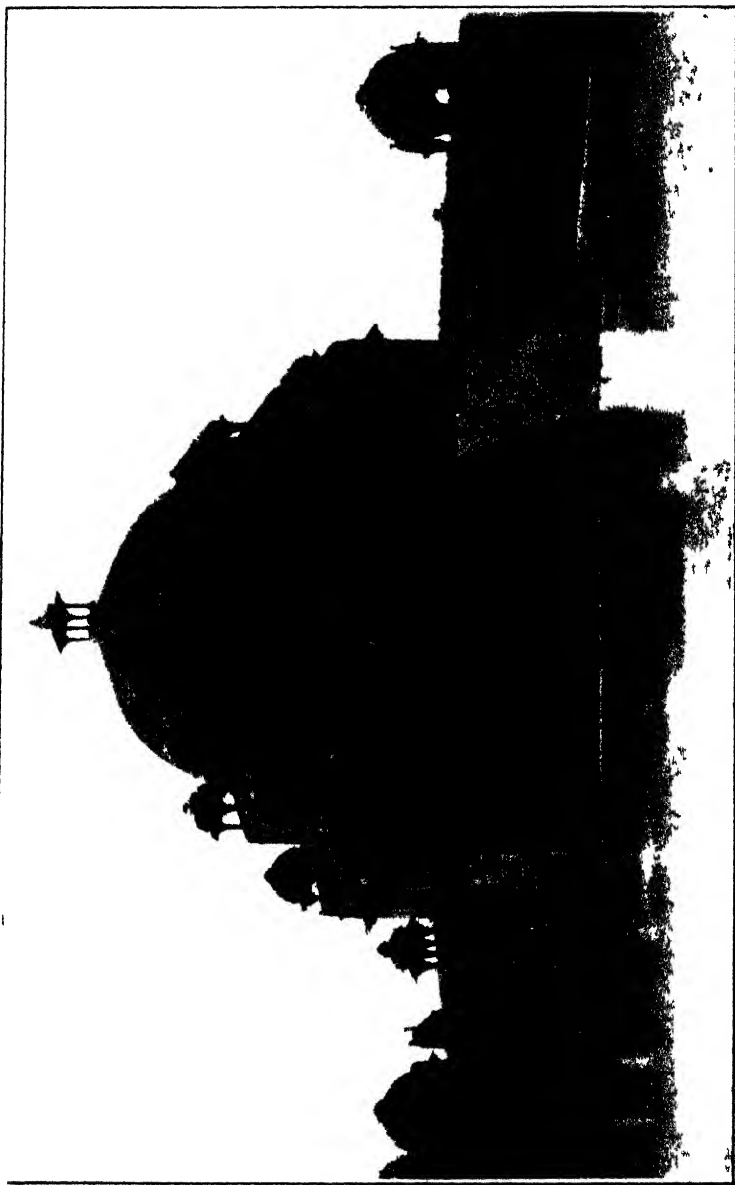
of fighting followed with varying fortune. At last Kāmraṇ was taken prisoner and blinded.

Second reign and death of Humāyūn. Humāyūn, when relieved from his brother's opposition, was able to invade India. He occupied Delhi and Agra in July 1555, and so regained his father's capital cities. But he was not permitted to consolidate his conquest or to establish a regular civil government. He was still engaged in making the necessary arrangements when an accidental fall from the staircase of his library at Delhi ended his troubled life in January 1556. His second reign had lasted barely seven months. Although more than twenty-five years had elapsed since the death of Bābur in 1530, the effective reign of Humāyūn, including both his first and second periods of rule, had subsisted for only about ten years. During the remaining fifteen years members of the Sūr family had enjoyed a precarious sovereignty over Hindostan.

Reign of Shēr Shāh. It has been convenient to give a rough outline of Humāyūn's adventures as a continuous story. Attention must now be directed to the proceedings of his Afghan rivals. The family of Sultan Ibrāhīm Lōdī did not seriously attempt to regain the kingdom lost at Pānīpat in 1526. Shēr Shāh, after the flight of Humāyūn in 1540, made vigorous efforts to subdue Rājputāna, Mālwa, and Bundēlkhand, which met with only partial success. He disgraced himself by ordering a treacherous massacre of the garrison of Rāisin in Central India, and was killed in 1545 while directing the siege of Kālanjar in Bundēlkhand.

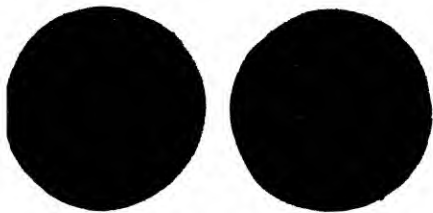
Shēr Shāh's government. Shēr Shāh was something more than the capable leader of a horde of fierce, fanatical Afghans. He had a nice taste in architecture, manifested especially in the noble mausoleum at Sahasrām (Sasseram) in Bihār which he prepared for himself. He built a new city at Delhi and a second Rohtās in the Panjāb. He also displayed an aptitude for civil government and instituted reforms, which were based to some extent on the institutions of Alāu-d dīn Khiljī and were developed by Akbar.

He maintained his authority by means of a powerful army, said to have comprised 150,000 horse, 25,000 foot, and 5,000 elephants. His scheme for branding the horses in the government service in order to check the prevalent evil of fraudulent musters was copied by Akbar. He also anticipated that monarch in a system of land revenue assessment based on the measurement of the land, and if he had lived longer might have enjoyed a reputation equal to that of Rājā Todar Mall, Akbar's famous minister. Justice of a rough and ready kind was administered under his strict personal supervision, and the responsibility of village communities for crimes committed within their borders was enforced by tremendous penalties. No man could expect favour by reason of his rank or position, and no injury to cultivation was tolerated. Shēr Shāh, like Asoka and Harsha, accepted the maxim that 'it behoves the great to be always active'. His time was divided by

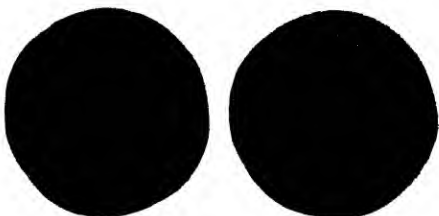


TOMB OF SHER SHAH.

stringent rules between the duties of religion and those of government. He followed the example of the best Hindu sovereigns by laying out high roads, planting trees, and providing wells and sarāis for the accommodation of travellers. He reformed the coinage, issuing an abundance of silver money, excellent in both fineness and execution. That is a good record for a stormy reign of five years. If Shēr Shāh had been spared he would have established his dynasty, and the 'Great Moguls' would not have appeared on the stage of history. His right to the throne was quite as good as that of Humāyūn. Both princes were merely foreign military adventurers, seeking to carve out a kingdom by the sword, and Shēr Shāh was personally far abler than his rival.



Rupee of Shēr Shāh.



Rupee of Islām Shāh.

Islām Shāh ; Muhammad Ādil Shāh. When Shēr Shāh died the choice of the nobles fell on his second son, Jalāl Khān, who ascended the throne under the style of Islām Shāh, often corruptly written and pronounced as Salīm Shāh. His brief and disturbed reign ended in 1553. He issued many regulations, but did not share his father's ability. After an interval of disputed succession the throne was usurped by Muhammad Ādil Shāh, or Adalī, brother of a consort of Islām Shāh. He was inefficient, and left the control of his affairs in the hands of Hēmū, a clever Hindu tradesman. The right to the sovereignty was contested by two nephews of Shēr Shāh, whose fate will be related in a later chapter.

CHRONOLOGY

First battle of Pānīpat	April 21, 1526
Bābur proclaimed as Pādshāh	April 27, 1526
Battle of Khānua (Kanwāha), defeat of Rānā Sanga	March 1527
Battle of the Ghāghra (Gogra) river 1529
Death of Bābūr ; accession of Humāyūn	Dec. 1530
Humāyūn in Bengal 1538
Defeat of Humāyūn at Chausā	June 1539
Final defeat of Humāyūn at Kanauj	May 1540
Enthronement of Shēr Shāh	Jan. 1542

Birth of Akbar at Umarkōt	Nov. 23, 1542
Death of Shēr Shāh ; accession of Islām Shāh	1545
Death of Islām Shāh ; Muhammad Ādil Shāh (Adālī) acc. ; other claimants	1553-4
Restoration of Humāyūn	June 1555
Death of Humāyūn	Jan. 1556

AUTHORITIES

The main original authority for Bābur is his book of *Memoirs*, transl. by LEYDEN and ERSKINE, 1826, and by Mrs. A. BEVERIDGE, in progress. Contemporary accounts of Humāyūn are the *Memoirs* of JAUHAR, transl. by STEWART, 1832 ; *Life and Memoirs of Gulbadan Bēgam*, Akbar's aunt, transl. by Mrs. A. BEVERIDGE, R. A. S., 1902 ; and *Memoirs* of BĀYAZĪD BIYĀT, abstracted in *J. A. S. B.*, part i, for 1808, p. 296. Other leading Persian authorities for the period are the *Akbarnāma* of ABU-L FAZL, transl. by H. BEVERIDGE, and various authors in *E. & D.*, vols. iv, v ; also FIRISHTA, transl. by BRIGGS. ERSKINE'S *History of India under Babar and Humāyūn*, 2 vols., 1854, is a valuable work on a large scale. LANE-POOLE'S *Bābar*, in *Rulers of India*, 1898, is an excellent and well-written little book, sufficient for most readers. The skeleton of the Sūr history is presented by E. THOMAS in *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi* (1871). The story of the Sūr kings needs to be worked out critically in detail.

CHAPTER 2

The Early European Voyages to and Settlements in India ; the East India Company from 1600 to 1708.

The foreigners and the Mogul Empire. Inasmuch as the influence of European settlers on the coasts made itself felt in Indian politics from the beginning of the sixteenth century, it is desirable to take a comprehensive, although summary view of the steps by which the western powers acquired a footing in India, before we enter upon the detailed history of the Mogul empire, as established by Akbar, and maintained for a century after his death. That empire was much concerned with Portuguese, and to a less extent with British affairs from the beginning of Jahān-gīr's reign. Even as early as the days of Humāyūn the king of Gujarāt had found his advantage in engaging the aid of the foreigners. Akbar maintained frequent intercourse with Goa from the time of the conquest of Gujarāt in 1573, and it is impossible to understand fully the history of his reign without a certain amount of knowledge concerning the intruders from the west whom he was so anxious to expel from his borders. In this chapter the narrative, necessarily much condensed, will be carried down to 1708, the year in which the union of the rival English companies was completed, soon after the death of Aurangzēb, the last of the Great Moguls. The union of the companies, as Anderson observes, 'is an epoch which properly closes the Early History of the English

in India'. It is convenient to give an outline of the whole story to that date in a single chapter, anticipating the narrative of the imperial history.

The Arab monopoly of Indian trade. We have seen how extensive was the trade, both overland and maritime, maintained between India and the Roman Empire during the first three centuries of the Christian Era, how that trade almost ceased in the fourth century, and revived to some extent in the fifth and sixth centuries. The Arab conquest of Egypt and Persia in the seventh century definitely closed the direct communication between Europe and India. Thenceforward all Indian wares which reached the West passed through Muhammadan hands, and so were transmitted from the markets of the Levant to Venice, which acquired enormous wealth and influence by its monopoly of Eastern commerce.

Portuguese exploration of African coast. The Portuguese kings of the fifteenth century looked with envy on the riches of Venice, and eagerly desired to obtain a share in her profitable trade. Prince Henry the Navigator devoted his life to the discovery of a direct sea route from Portugal to India, and, when he died in 1460, his adventurous captains had succeeded in passing the river Senegal on the west coast of Africa. But much further effort was needed before the circumnavigation of Africa could be accomplished. Ultimately the feat was performed by Bartholomeu Diaz de Novaes, who was driven by storms considerably to the south of the Cape, and made land half-way between the Cape of Good Hope and Port Elizabeth. He sailed up the eastern coast sufficiently far to satisfy himself of its north-easterly trend and to be convinced that the long-sought route had been opened. He returned to Lisbon in December 1488. The year in which he rounded the Cape should be stated as 1487, in preference to the traditional date, 1486.

Vasco da Gama's arrival at Calicut. The discovery was followed up ten years later by Vasco da Gama, who sailed in July 1497 with three tiny ships, none exceeding 120 tons, and, like his predecessor, worked round to the east coast of Africa. In April 1498 he reached Melinda, 200 miles north of Zanzibar, and there obtained pilots competent to guide him to India. On May 20, 1498, he anchored at Calicut, then governed by a Hindu prince known as the Zamorin, who ruled well a prosperous realm. The Zamorin was inclined to be friendly to the strangers, but the opposition of the Arab traders prevented da Gama from doing much business. After visiting Cannanore he went home and reached Lisbon at the end of August 1499.

Cabral's voyage. Next year (1500) the king of Portugal dispatched a larger fleet under Pedro Alvares Cabral, who established a factory or agency at Calicut, and obtained good cargoes at Cannanore and Cochin, which were under Hindu rulers. The Portuguese, who hated all Musalmāns and killed them without mercy, usually were on good terms with the Hindus. The king

of Portugal, with papal sanction, assumed the lofty style of 'Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India'—a proceeding which shows that his ambition was not limited solely to commercial gain. The resistance of the Arab Māppilah (Moplah) merchants to the intrusion of their European rivals provoked horrid cruelties practised in retaliation by the Portuguese commanders.

de Almeida's 'blue water' policy. Two rival policies divided Portuguese opinion. Dom Francisco de Almeida, the first viceroy (1505–9), may be described as the leader of the 'blue water' school. He disbelieved in the policy of multiplying settlements on land, holding that Portugal did not possess men enough to occupy many forts, and that such factories as might be established should rely for protection on Portuguese fleets in command of the sea. He regarded as visionary any idea of establishing a Portuguese empire in the East, maintaining the doctrine that 'the greater the number of fortresses you hold, the weaker will be your power; let all our forces be on the sea. . . . Let it be known for certain that as long as you may be powerful at sea, you will hold India as yours; and if you do not possess this power, little will avail you a fortress on shore.'

Albuquerque's occupation policy. Affonso de Albuquerque, who succeeded de Almeida, with the rank of Governor, held different views. His purpose was to found a Portuguese empire in the East.

'His system', as Mr. Morse Stephens observes, 'rested on four main bases. He desired to occupy certain important points for trading purposes, and to rule them directly; he desired to colonize the selected districts by encouraging mixed marriages with the native inhabitants; where he could not conquer or colonize he desired to build fortresses; and when this was impracticable he desired to induce the native monarchs to recognize the supremacy of the king of Portugal and to pay him tribute.'

The ability and strong character of Albuquerque induced the Home Government to sanction his policy. But it failed, partly from its inherent defects, partly from the extraordinary folly of the attitude adopted by the Portuguese Government after he was gone.

Acquisition and government of Goa. In pursuit of his policy he effectively occupied the island of Goa—the principal port in the dominions of the Sultan of Bijāpur—in 1510, and worked out a system of administration for the small District acquired, the first bit of Indian territory directly governed by Europeans since the time of Alexander the Great. All Muhammadans were excluded from office. Portuguese officers were appointed as *Thanadars*, each combining revenue and criminal jurisdiction, like an English District Officer, and assisted by Hindu clerks for whose education he established schools. He upheld the constitution of the ancient Hindu village communities, and enrolled native soldiers commanded by Hindu officers, the first 'sepoys'. An interesting innovation was the abolition of *suttee*, a measure not carried out in British India until 1829.

Albuquerque's designs. Albuquerque did not confine his attention to India. He aimed at depriving the Muhanimadans, or Moors as he called them, of the whole trade between the East



J C Silva sculp. Olivar in Typ. Reg. An. 1774

ALBUQUERQUE.

and Europe, and concentrating it in European hands. One valuable section of that trade, which came from the Spice Islands or Moluccas, lying between Celebes and New Guinea, passed, along with the commerce of China and Japan, through the Straits of Malacca.

Importance of Malacca. In those days the town of Malacca

on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, which possessed a good though shallow harbour, was the principal emporium of the trade with the Spice Islands and the Far East. In these latter times it has been eclipsed by both Penang and Singapore, so that it became for some years a little town, rarely visited by ships. The rubber industry has revived it. In 1511 its possession carried with it the control of a vast commerce. Penang and Singapore did not become important until the nineteenth century. At the time of Albuquerque's attack Malacca was crowded by men of all the trading nations of the East, Arabs, Chinese, Javanese, Gujarātis from the west, and Bengālīs from the east of India. Excepting the Muhammadans, whom he abhorred, Albuquerque showed favour to all those races. He indulged in the dream that the success of his enterprise would result in 'quenching the fire of this sect of Muhammad' and 'in the Moors resigning India altogether to our rule, for the greater part of them—or perhaps all of them—live upon the trade of this country, and are become great and rich, and lords of extensive treasures'. He held it to be 'very certain that if we take this trade of Malacca away out of their hands, Cairo and Mecca will be entirely ruined, and to Venice will no spices be conveyed, except what her merchants go and buy in Portugal'.

Exploration of the Spice Islands. When he had taken possession of the town in 1511 Albuquerque protected it by building a fortress held by a garrison, which secured Portuguese rule for a hundred and thirty years, after which time the place passed into the hands of the Dutch. It finally became British territory in 1824. From Malacca Albuquerque dispatched an expedition to explore the Spice Islands. Meantime, during the great commander's absence, Goa had been closely besieged by an army of the Sultan of Bijāpur, supported by Turkish and Egyptian contingents. After hard fighting Albuquerque effected its relief in 1512.

Attempt on Aden. One main object of Portuguese policy was the destruction of the trade carried on by Muhammadans in the Red Sea, and the Home Government strongly urged the effective prosecution of that purpose. Albuquerque attempted to take Aden but failed, and the Portuguese never succeeded in gaining a mastery over the navigation of the Red Sea.

Occupation of Ormuz. Albuquerque was more successful in the Persian Gulf. Shortly before his death in 1515 he occupied the island of Ormuz (Hormuz) and built a fortress there. At that time the port of Ormuz rivalled Malacca in importance, and like it was thronged by traders of all nationalities. The Portuguese retained possession until 1622, when they were ousted by an expedition of English ships sent from Surat, and supported by a Persian contingent. From that date Ormuz declined, and its trade passed to the new port of Bandar Abbās, not far distant. The place is now of little consequence, but still exports a considerable quantity of excellent haematite, or iron ore.

Policy of mixed marriages. Albuquerque's policy of colonization by means of mixed marriages, which was peculiar to himself, deserves special notice. 'His aim', as Mr. Stephens observes, 'was to form a population which should be at once loyal to Portugal and satisfied to remain in India for life.' He did not expect to be able to retain many of the officers, and chiefly devoted his efforts to the willing detention of gunners and artisans. He married them off by the hundred to Muhammadan and Hindu women, especially the widows of the Muhammadans whom he had slaughtered. The brides had to submit to baptism, but on the other hand, if they asked for the houses which had been in possession of their deceased fathers or husbands, he ordered that those should be given to them.

He thus created the large class of Portuguese half-castes, often blacker in colour than ordinary Indians of full blood, who are now so numerous at Bombay and along the west coast. Most of these people have hardly a trace of the European about them, except high-sounding Portuguese names, and they devote themselves largely to domestic service. Their religion alone has prevented them from being absorbed into the mass of the population. Albuquerque did not foresee that his plan would produce a degenerate race absolutely destitute of the qualities to which Europeans owe their success in the world.

Causes of decline and fall of Portuguese power.

The strange story of the decline and fall of the Portuguese dominion in the East, which was rapid, and, I may add, fully deserved, cannot be told in this work. The cruelty of the Portuguese, especially to Muhammadans, was horrible, and Albuquerque himself did not hesitate to procure the poisoning of both the Zamorin of Calicut and a Persian official at Ormuz. After Albuquerque's death the Government of Portugal under the guidance of King John III, a bigoted fanatic, based its policy on a desire to make Christians by fair means or foul, rather than on political or commercial motives, and engaged in an insane attempt to force the natives of India to adopt Christianity. The Inquisition, which had been established at Goa in 1560, indulged from the beginning of the seventeenth century in an atrocious religious persecution, torturing and burning relapsed converts and unlucky wretches supposed to be witches. Those measures alone were enough to ruin the Portuguese design of creating an Indian dominion. The decay of the Portuguese empire in the East was hastened by other causes acting in a wider sphere. The local governments were utterly corrupt, the men were degraded by their marriages with native women, and the women were given up to debauchery. The



Indo-Portuguese coin.

temporary union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal in 1580 dragged the smaller country into the European quarrels of the larger, while Portugal, with its limited area and scanty population, lacked the resources to supply and control a distant empire. Thus the Portuguese rule on the coasts of the Eastern seas decayed as rapidly as it had grown, and the Portuguese settlements fell an easy prey to their Dutch and English rivals. Portuguese India now consists of three small settlements—Goa, 1,301 square miles; Damān, 100 miles N. of Bombay, 149 square miles; and the island of Diu, in the south of Kāthiāwār, 20 square miles. In Africa Portugal has Portuguese E. Africa on the Zambesi and Limpopo, with Portuguese Guinea on the Guinea coast; as well as Macao in China.

Dutch and English rivalry with the Portuguese. The Dutch and English almost simultaneously took measures to contest the claim of Portugal to the monopoly of Oriental commerce, and from the moment they appeared on the scene at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Portuguese were unable to resist them effectually. One after another most of the Indian settlements fell into their hands, and, in the first instance, passed into Dutch possession. The English then, in due course, took the place of the Dutch. Goa, it is true, escaped actual capture, although it

was often blockaded by Dutch fleets; but its importance had dwindled so steadily after the destruction of Vijayanagar in 1565 that in the seventeenth century it did not much matter who held it.



Indo-Dutch coin.

Dutch control of the Spice Islands and Far East trade.

The United East India Company of the Netherlands, formed in 1602, promptly sent out large fleets. Batavia in Java, founded in 1619, became the head-quarters of the Company's operations. It is still the capital of the Dutch East Indies. The capture of Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641 gave the control of the commerce of the Spice Islands and the Far East to Holland, while during the twenty years between 1638 and 1658 Ceylon passed from Portuguese into Dutch hands.

Dutch settlements in India. The settlements of the Hollanders on the coasts of India, although numerous, were never individually considerable or important. Their first fort on the mainland of India was built at Pulicat, north of Madras, in 1609. From 1660 their principal station was Negapatam on the Madras coast. The attention of the Dutch Company was chiefly devoted to Java and the Spice Islands. The notorious massacre of Amboyna in 1623, when a number of Englishmen and Japanese were cruelly tortured and executed, effectually checked British competition in that region. Cromwell, thirty-one years later, exacted an indemnity

from Holland, and at the same time asserted by treaty with Portugal the British right to share in the trade. The Dutch, however, continued to be supreme in the Malay Archipelago. The Hollanders never acquired any formidable military power in India, so that the English in the course of the wars of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth found little difficulty in obtaining possession of the Dutch Indian settlements.

Danish settlements. The Danish settlements demand a passing notice. A Danish East India Company was established in 1616, and four years later (1620) the factory at Tranquebar on the east coast was founded.

The principal settlement of the Danes at Serampore near Calcutta dates from about 1676. The Danish factories, which were not important at any time, were sold to the British Government in 1845.

French settlements. The French appeared late on the scene, their official organization, 'La Compagnie des Indes', having been established in 1664. Their principal settlement, Pondicherry, founded ten years later, still is a moderately prosperous town. The French never succeeded in capturing a large share of the Indian trade, and their settlements never received sufficient steady support from home. The Republic still possesses Pondicherry, Chandernagore near Calcutta, and several smaller settlements of no political significance.

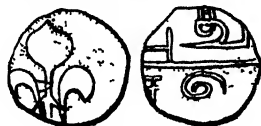
The struggle between the English and French for supremacy in the peninsula during the second half of the eighteenth century will be narrated in due course as part of the general history of India.

First Charter of the East India Company. The glorious victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588 stimulated British maritime enterprise, and suggested plans for claiming a share in the lucrative commerce of the Eastern seas. Those plans assumed definite form on the last day of 1600 when Queen Elizabeth granted a charter with rights of exclusive trading to 'the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies'.

The Separate Voyages. The early 'Separate Voyages' organized by the Company were directed chiefly to the Spice Islands rather than to India. They were called Separate Voyages because each venture was arranged by a body of individual subscribers, who divided the profits among themselves. Joint stock enterprises



Indo-Danish coin.



Indo-French coin.



Porteullis coin of Elizabeth, for India.

began in 1612. A ship of the Third Separate Voyage in 1608 reached Surat and did some trade, but Portuguese opposition was strong; and it was not until 1612 that the English obtained by treaty with the Mogul governor of Gujarāt the right to trade at Surat, Cambay, and two other places.

After a fierce sea-fight in that year the British established their position in spite of the Portuguese, and founded a factory at Surat protected by an imperial *farmān*. Surat thus became the seat of a presidency of the East India Company, which in time developed into the Presidency of Bombay and the British empire in India. The Dutch also had a factory in Surat.

English capture of Ormuz. In 1615 the English again defeated the Portuguese at sea, and their capture of Ormuz in 1622, with the aid of a Persian military force, so weakened the Portuguese power that thenceforward they had little to fear from Portugal.

Embassy of Sir T. Roe. In 1615 James I sent Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to the Emperor Jahāngīr. During his stay of about three years in India, Sir Thomas, although he could not obtain all he asked for, succeeded in securing important privileges for his countrymen. From time to time British adventurers established many factories or trading stations at various points along the western coast, including one at Anjengo in Travancore. But their activity was not confined to that coast, the more easily accessible.

Settlements on Bay of Bengal. In the course of a few years they made their way into the Bay of Bengal, and founded factories. One of the earliest, built about 1625, was at Armagāon in the Nellore District, but the settlement at Masulipatam had been founded a few years before that date. The first fortification was at Armagāon, where the ruins of the Company's fort still exist.

Foundation of Madras. Business at Masulipatam and Armagāon was so hampered by the exactions of the local rulers that Mr. Francis Day, the Agent at Masulipatam, was directed to see if he could buy or rent a piece of land within the limits of which the Company's merchants might work without hindrance. The old Portuguese settlement at San Thomé near Madras was then in very low water, and the poverty-stricken Portuguese half-caste residents, who had lost most of their trade, were willing to welcome Mr. Day and his colleagues. The place possessed a fort, which Day probably could have rented if he pleased. But, on thinking the matter over, he preferred a site where he should be independent. Accordingly, with the help of the friendly local Portuguese, he arranged to rent a strip of land to the north of San Thomé, about a mile broad and four miles long.

'It had nothing apparently to commend it. It was devoid of beauty of scenery, and had no harbour, although there was good anchorage in its roads. It was nothing but a dreary waste of sand, on which a monstrous sea broke in a double line of surf, giving it an inhospitable look, which it retains to the present day.'

The evil-smelling Cooum river protected it from unwelcome

visitors. On this unpromising spot Day resolved to build. He rented the land for a payment of about £600 a year. The agreement was recorded early in 1639, as customary, on a gold plate, which was lost afterwards, as well as other similar documents, perhaps when the French took Madras in 1746. Thus England acquired her first proprietary holding on Indian soil, and the foundation of the Presidency of Madras was laid. The grantor was a chief subordinate to the Rājā of Chandragiri, the representative of the Vijayanagar dynasty. Day lost no time in starting the necessary buildings for the accommodation of his people and erecting a fort, to which latter step the Directors at home strongly objected. That fort, named after the patron saint of England, still gives its official designation to Madras as the Presidency of Fort St. George.

Foundation of Calcutta. Truculent and masterful Job Charnock, 'always a faithful man to the Company', founded Calcutta on an equally unpromising site in August 1690. He had been turned out of Bengal some two years earlier by the Mogul officers, as a consequence of Sir Josiah Child's foolish war with Aurangzēb, but being invited to return by the reigning Nawāb, Ibrāhīm Khān, accepted the invitation, and, landing with a guard of only thirty soldiers, doggedly set to work building and fortifying on the mud flat assigned to him. That was the beginning of Fort William—so called after William III—and also of the Presidency of Fort William or Bengal.

Acquisition of Bombay. Bombay was acquired by the Crown in 1661 as part of the dowry of Catharine of Braganza, queen of Charles II. The cession was made by the Portuguese in order to secure English support against the Dutch. A few years later the king, who had failed to appreciate the value of the acquisition, granted the island to the East India Company in return for the trifling sum of ten pounds a year.

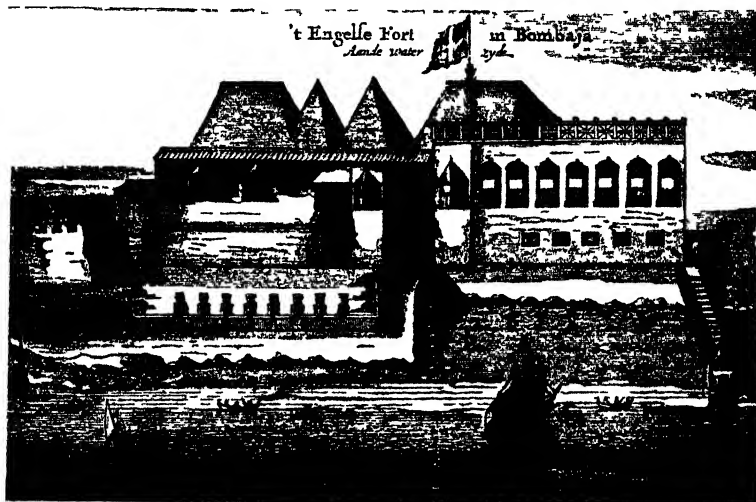
Gerald Aungier. The real founder of the city was the early governor, Gerald Aungier (1669-77), who foresaw the future greatness of his charge, declaring that it was 'the city which by God's assistance is intended to be built'. Aungier, although rarely mentioned in the current general histories, was one of the noblest of the founders of the Indian empire. He is described as being 'a chivalric and intrepid man . . . a gentleman well qualified for governing', who made it his 'daily study to advance the Company's interest and the good and safety of the people under him'. His grave at Surat, to which Bombay was subordinate in his time, is marked by a tablet.

Keigwin's rebellion. The military revolt of Captain Keigwin at Bombay in 1683 was a curious incident. The gallant captain,



Early Bombay coin.

who really was a loyal subject, was driven into rebellion by the tyranny of John Child, the President of Surat, who carried out the policy of his influential chief and namesake, Sir Josiah Child, in London. The rebels declared that 'we are therefore resolved not to suffer these abuses any longer, but revolt to His Majesty, taking all into our possession for his use'. Keigwin held Bombay for a year, governing it well and honestly. He then surrendered the island peacefully on honourable terms to a king's officer. Keigwin died in 1690 as an officer and a gentleman, bravely leading his men to an attack on one of the West India islands. The statement



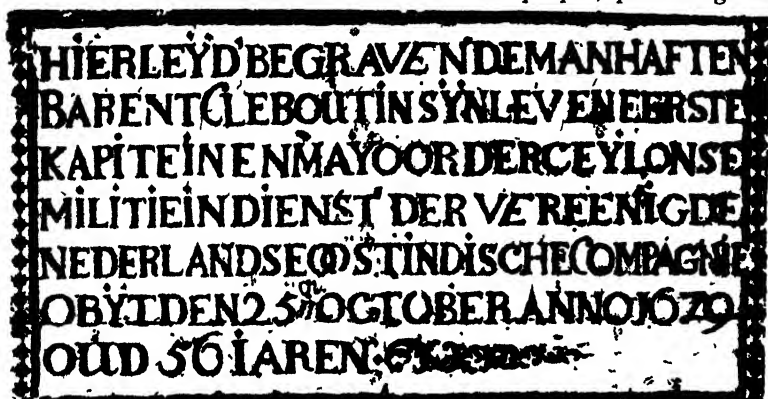
BOMBAY FORT FROM THE SEA.

made in a multitude of books that the two Childs were brothers is erroneous. They do not appear to have been related in any way. After the rebellion Bombay became the head-quarters of the English in western India instead of Surat. The Bombay territory, however, did not attain much importance until the time of Warren Hastings. The noble harbour could not be fully utilized until the passage of the Western Ghāts had become practicable.

The United Company. Towards the close of the seventeenth century the East India Company encountered much opposition in England, which resulted in the formation of a rival body entitled 'The English Company trading to the East Indies'. The old company was brought to the brink of ruin. But its Directors were full of fight, and declared that 'two East India Companies in England could no more subsist without destroying one the other, than two kings, at the same time regnant in one kingdom'.

After much bitter and undignified quarrelling in both England and India an agreement was arranged in 1702. The difficult financial questions at issue were finally set at rest in 1708 by the award of Lord Godolphin, with the result that the rivals were combined in a single body styled 'The United Company of Merchants of *England* trading to the East Indies'. The United Company thus formed is the famous corporation which acquired the sovereignty of India during the century extending from 1757 to 1858.

Failure of Portuguese, Dutch, and French. The Portuguese, who had the advantage of the start in the race for the control of the Indian trade, deservedly lost everything from causes sufficiently obvious, which have been already indicated. The Dutch never seriously directed their attention to India proper, preferring to



DUTCH EPITAPH, SADRAS.

gather riches by their monopoly of the trade of the Archipelago and Spice Islands. The French entered the field too late, and failed to show sufficient enterprise or to receive adequate backing from their government at home. The English proved their superiority at sea against all comers from an early date. Their commercial affairs in India were looked after by agents often of dubious character, but always daring, persistent, and keen men of business. The trade was supported from the first by the efforts of the home government.

During the time of the Great Moguls the British territory in India was of negligible area, comprising only a few square miles in the island of Bombay, Madras city, and three or four other localities. But even then the prowess of their sea captains had made their nation a power in Indian politics. Half a century after the death of Aurangzēb, when rich Bengal was acquired, nothing, not even an Act of Parliament, could stop the masters of the sea and the Gangetic valley from becoming the rulers of India.

CHRONOLOGY

Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut	May 1498
Portuguese conquest of Goa	1510
Death of Albuquerque	1515
Trade of Goa injured by destruction of Vijayanagar	1565
Union of crowns of Spain and Portugal	1580
Defeat of the Spanish Armada	1588
Charter to E. I. Co. of merchants of London	Dec. 31, 1600
United E. I. Co. of the Netherlands	1602
Accession of Jahāngir	1605
Third 'Separate Voyage'; Capt. Hawkins at Surat	1608
Joint stock voyages began; English factory established at Surat; Portuguese defeated at sea	1612
Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe	1615-18
Danish settlement at Tranquebar	1620
Capture of Ormuz by English and Persians	1622
Massacre of Amboyna	1623
Early English factories on Eastern coast	1625-34
Death of Jahāngir; accession of Shāhjahān	1627-8
Grant of site of Madras	March 1, 1640
Accession of Aurangzēb	1658-9
Cession of Bombay; charter of Charles II	1661
French 'Compagnie des Indes' established	1664
Gerald Aungier at Bombay	1669-77
Pondicherry founded	1674
War of E. I. Co. with Aurangzēb	1685-7
Calcutta founded	1690
The new 'English Company trading to the East Indies'	1698
Union of the new and old companies	1702
Lord Godolphin's award; the 'United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies'	1708

AUTHORITIES

Innumerable books might be cited. The slight sketch in this chapter is based chiefly on the summary in *I. G.* (1907), chap. ii; H. MORSE STEPHENS, *Albuquerque* (Rulers of India, 1892), an excellent book; FONSECA, *Sketch of the City of Goa* (Bombay, 1878), 'a most carefully compiled volume'; WHITEWAY, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India* (Westminster, 1899); MALABARI, *Bombay in the Making* (London, 1910); ANDERSON, *The English in Western India* (Bombay and London, 1854); STRACHEY, *Keigwin's Rebellion* (Clarendon Press, 1916), a first-rate and most entertaining book; PENNY, *Fort St. George, Madras* (London, 1900); and BRUCE, *Annals of the E. I. Co.* (London, 1810).

Numerous references will be found in the works mentioned. An immense mass of unworked material is buried in the three series of volumes containing documents relating to the E. I. Co., published by the Clarendon Press at various dates, and mostly edited by Mr. William Foster and Miss Sainsbury. For foundation of Madras see W. FOSTER, *The Founding of Fort St. George* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1902); and LOVE, *Vestiges of Old Madras* (Murray, 1913).

CHAPTER 3

Akbar, 1555-1605.

Humāyūn's sons. When Humāyūn died he left two sons, Akbar, the elder, aged thirteen, and Muhammad Hākīm, the younger, who was more than two years junior to his half-brother. The Kābul province remained nominally in the charge of the younger prince, and, although regarded officially as a dependency of Hindostan, was ordinarily administered as an independent principality. Akbar, at the time of his father's death, was in camp with his guardian, Bairām Khān the Turkoman, engaged in the pursuit of Shēr Shāh's nephew, Sikandar Sūr, who had collected a force in the Panjāb and sought to win the crown for himself.

Enthronement of Akbar. Arrangements having been made to conceal Humāyūn's decease for a time sufficient to allow of the peaceful proclamation of Akbar's accession, the enthronement of the heir was duly effected at Kalānaur, in the Gurdāspur District, on February 14, 1556. The brick platform and seat used in the ceremony still exist and are now reverently preserved. But the enthronement ceremony merely registered the claim of Humāyūn's son to succeed to the throne of Hindostan. The deceased monarch never had had really assured possession of his kingdom, and during his brief second reign of a few months was in the position of an adventurer who had secured a momentary military success. He could not be regarded as an established legitimate sovereign. In fact, as already observed, the representatives of his great rival Shēr Shāh had claims quite as strong as those of Akbar to the lordship of Hindostan.

Two Sūr claimants. At that moment the effective claimants representing the Sūr dynasty were two nephews of Shēr Shāh. The first of the two, King Muhammad Shāh Ādil or Adalī, had actually succeeded for a time in establishing himself as the successor of Shēr Shāh's son, Islām Shāh, who had died in 1554. But at the time of Humāyūn's fatal accident he had retired to the eastern provinces and was residing at Chunār, near Mirzāpur. Shēr Shāh's other nephew, Sikandar, as already mentioned, was in the Panjāb engaged in operations on his own behalf.

Hēmū, a third claimant. King Adalī's interests in the north were in the charge of his capable Hindu minister and general, Hēmū, a trader or Baniyā by birth, who had already won many victories for his master. Hēmū, advancing through Gwālior, occupied both Agra and Delhi, thus gaining a very important advantage. Tardī Beg, who had been entrusted by the Protector, Bairām Khān, with the defence of Delhi, failed in his duty, and allowed the city to fall into the enemy's hands. For that offence he was executed by order of Bairām Khān. The punishment, although inflicted in an irregular fashion without trial, was necessary and substantially just.

Hēmū, after his occupation of Delhi, bethought himself that he was in possession of a powerful army, many elephants, and much treasure, while his sovereign was far away in Chunār. He came to the conclusion that he had better claim the throne for himself rather than on behalf of Adalī. Accordingly, he secured the support of the Afghan contingents by liberal donations, and ventured to assume royal state under the style of Rājā Bikramajit or Vikramāditya, a title borne by several renowned Hindu kings in ancient times. He thus became Akbar's most formidable competitor, while both Adalī and Sikandar Sūr dropped into the background for the moment.

Second battle of Pānīpat. Bairām Khān, with Akbar, advanced through Thānēsar to the historic plain of Pānīpat, where, thirty years earlier, Bābur had routed and slain Sultan Ibrāhīm Lodi. Hēmū approached the same goal from the west. The Hindu general, although he had the misfortune to lose his park of artillery in a preliminary engagement, possessed a powerful host of 1,500 war elephants on which he relied, and was in command of troops far superior in number to those of his adversary.

The armies met in battle on November 5, 1556. At first Hēmū was successful on both wings. Probably he would have been the victor but for the accident that he was hit in the eye by an arrow and rendered unconscious. His army, when deprived of its leader, the sole reason for its existence, dispersed at once. Bairām Khān and Akbar, who had left the conduct of the battle to subordinate officers, rode up from the rear. Their helpless dying opponent was brought before them. The Protector desired his royal ward to earn the coveted title of Ghāzī by slaying the infidel with his own hand. The boy, naturally obeying the instruction of his guardian, smote the prisoner on the neck with his scimitar, and the bystanders finished off the victim. The commonly accepted story that young Akbar exhibited a chivalrous unwillingness to strike a wounded prisoner is a later, courtly invention. Hēmū's head was sent to Kābul and his trunk was gibbeted on one of the gates of Delhi. A tower was built with the heads of the slain, according to the ghastly custom of the times.

Famine, 1555-6. During the years 1555 and 1556 the upper provinces of India, and more especially the Agra and Delhi territories, suffered from an appalling famine due primarily to the failure of rain and much aggravated by the long continued operations of pitiless armies. Hēmū had displayed the most brutal indifference to the sufferings of the people, and had pampered his elephants with rice, sugar, and butter, while men and women ate one another. He deserved his fate.

End of the Sūr dynasty. The victors pressed the pursuit of the broken foe and promptly occupied both Agra and Delhi. During the year 1557 the pretensions of the Sūr family to the sovereignty of Hindostan came to an end. Sikandar Sūr, who surrendered, was generously treated and provided with a fief in the eastern provinces. King Adalī made no attempt to dispute the

verdict of the sword at Pānīpat. He remained in the east, and was killed in a conflict with the King of Bengal. Akbar's position as the successor of Humāyūn was thus unchallenged, although he had still much fighting to do before he attained a position as good as that occupied by his father during his first reign.

Progress of reconquest. In the course of the years 1558-60 the recovery of the Mogul dominion in Hindostan progressed by the occupation of Gwālīor, the strong fortress of Central India, Ajmēr, the key of northern Rājputāna, and the Jaunpur province in the east. An attempt on the Rājput castle of Ranthambhōr failed for the moment, to be renewed successfully a few years later. Preliminary arrangements for the conquest of Mālwa were interrupted by the events connected with Akbar's assumption of personal rule and the dismissal of Bairām Khān, his guardian and Protector.

Dismissal of Bairām Khān. Early in 1560 the young sovereign, then in his eighteenth year, began to feel galled by the tutelage of his guardian, who was a masterful man, prone to exert his authority without much regard for other people's feelings. Akbar's natural impatience was encouraged by Hamīda Bāno Bēgam, his mother; by Māham Anaga, chief of the nurses and ranking as a foster-mother of the sovereign; by her son, Adham Khān; and by Shihāb-u-d dīn, her relative, the governor of Delhi. All those personages, who had much influence over Akbar, disliked Bairām Khān for reasons of their own. In the spring of 1560 Akbar dismissed the Protector from office and announced his intention of taking the reins of government into his own hands. Bairām Khān, after some hesitation, submitted to the royal commands, and started for Mecca as ordered. But, on second thoughts, being angered because he was hustled on his way by an ungrateful upstart named Pīr Muhammad, he rebelled, although in a half-hearted fashion. He was defeated in the Panjāb and again compelled to submit. Akbar treated the ex-regent with generosity and allowed him to proceed on his journey towards Mecca with all ceremonial honour. Bairām Khān reached Pātan in Gujarāt, where he was murdered by a private enemy in January 1561. His little son, Abdurrahīm, was saved, and lived to become the principal nobleman in the empire. The intrigue against the Regent was engineered by a court clique who desired his destruction. Akbar at that time was under petticoat government and had little concern with state affairs. His personal conduct in the affair shows a generous temper, so far as appears. The faults of Bairām Khān certainly deserved indulgence from Akbar, who, like his father, was indebted for his throne to the loyalty of the Turkoman.

Petticoat government, 1560-2. The next two years are the most discreditable in Akbar's life. The young monarch, as his biographer repeatedly observes, 'remained behind the veil', and seemed to care for nothing but sport. He manifested no interest in the affairs of his kingdom, which he left to be mismanaged by unscrupulous women, aided by Adham Khān, Pīr Muhammad,

and other men equally devoid of scruple. The conquest of Mālwa, entrusted to Adham Khān and Pīr Muhammad, was effected with savage cruelty to which Akbar made no objection. The fortress of Mīrthā (Merta) in Rājputāna was taken in 1562.

Emancipation of Akbar. The emancipation of Akbar from a degrading tutelage came in May 1562. His appointment in the previous November of Shamsu-d dīn as prime minister was extremely distasteful to Māham Anaga and her friends, who feared that their ill-used power might slip from their hands. Adham Khān one day swaggered into the palace where the prime minister was at work and stabbed him to death. Akbar, hearing the noise, came out from an inner apartment and narrowly escaped injury from the ruffian murderer. But a stunning blow from the heavy royal fist felled the traitor, who was then hurled from the battlements, thus suffering in a summary fashion the just penalty of his crime. From that time Akbar was a free man, although the final emancipation was deferred until two years later (1564), when he inflicted equally summary and just punishment on another murderer, his mother's brother, a half-insane monster named Khwāja Muazzam.

Political state of India. The political divisions of India as they existed in 1561 or 1562, when Akbar had reigned for five or six years, are exhibited in the map, and explained in the statement facing it.

Reforms. At a very early stage in his career he realized thoroughly that it was no longer possible for the Pādshāh of Hindostan to be the king of the Muslim minority only. His throne, if it was to be firmly established, must rest on the broad foundation of general loyalty, accorded willingly by Hindus and Musalmāns alike. That resolve, involving a policy the exact contrary of that pursued by Fīrōz Shāh Tughlak and most of the other Sultans, appears to have been the personal act of Akbar, the result of his own meditations, and not of outside suggestion. In pursuance of his new policy he made his first marriage with a Hindu princess early in 1562, some months before the execution of Adham Khān. The lady honoured was a daughter of Rājā Bihār Mall of Ambēr or Jaipur, and became the mother of the Emperor Jahāngīr. The marriage secured the loyalty and support of the powerful Jaipur family for several generations. Marriages with princesses of other Rājput states followed in later years. At this period (1562-4) Akbar effected several important reforms. He abolished the taxes on Hindu pilgrims; forbade the enslavement of prisoners of war, thereby reversing the policy of Fīrōz Shāh Tughlak; and also remitted the *jizya* or poll-tax on non-Muslims. It may be that the royal orders were not invariably acted on, and that local magnates at a distance from the capital often ignored the innovations; but, however that may be, Akbar deserves immense credit for the originality and courage which prompted his orders. The reforms were his own doing, carried out many years before he came under the influence of Abu-l Fazl and the other persons

whose names are associated with his later policy in matters of religion.

From March 1564, when Khwāja Muazzam suffered his well-earned punishment and Akbar was in his twenty-second year, he had become thoroughly emancipated from the control of the ladies of the household and the corrupt men through whom they acted. His policy for the forty-one remaining years of his reign was his own.

The ambition of Akbar. Akbar, one of the most ambitious of men, who loved power and wealth, brooking no rival near his throne, now set himself to effect the systematic subjugation of north-western and central India, to be followed later by the conquest of the west, east, and south. His designs were purely aggressive, his intention being to make himself the unquestioned lord paramount of India, and to suppress the independence of every kingdom within the reach of his arm. He carried out that policy with unflinching tenacity until January 1601, when the mighty fortress of Asīrgarh, his last acquisition, passed into his hands. Circumstances beyond his control prevented him from continuing his career of conquest until his death in October 1605.

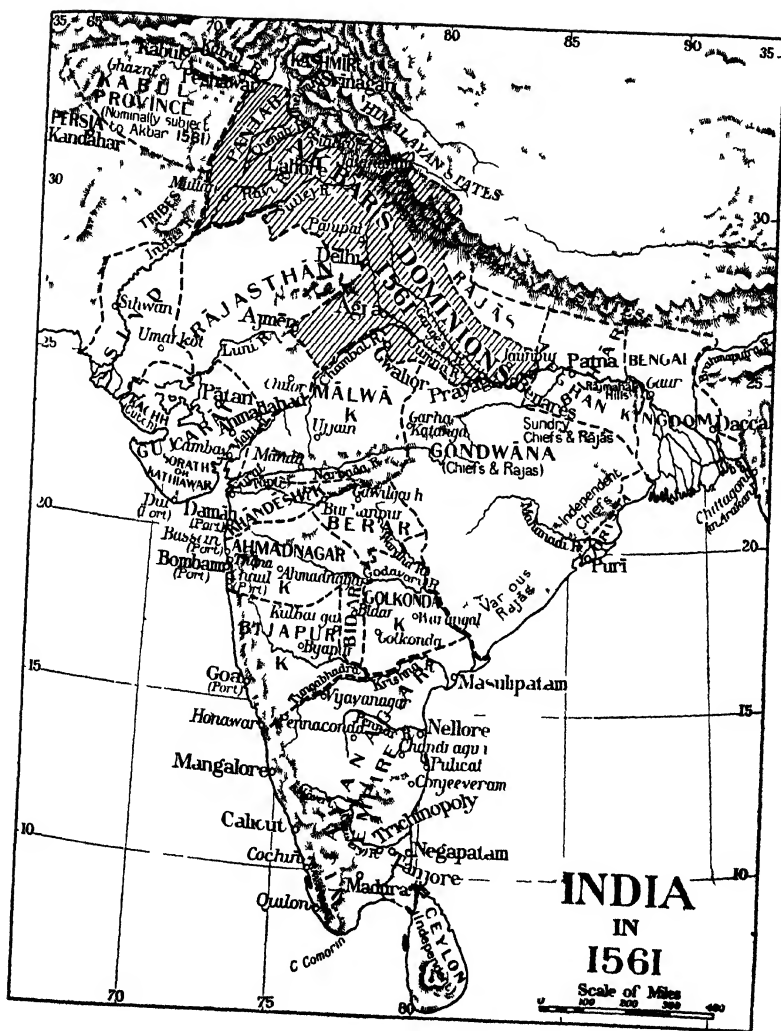
He began by encouraging a great noble, Āsaf Khān (I), governor of Karā and the eastern provinces, to destroy the independence of Gondwāna, equivalent to the northern portion of the present Central Provinces, then governed by the Dowager Rānī Durgāvati, an excellent princess, with whose administration no fault could be found. She was driven to her death, her country was overrun, and the wealth accumulated in the course of centuries was plundered without mercy. Her independence was her only fault. Injudicious flatterers of Akbar have printed much canting nonsense about his supposed desire to do good to the conquered peoples by his annexations. He never canted on the subject himself, or made any secret of the fact that he regarded as an offence the independence of a neighbour. 'A monarch', he said, 'should be ever intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him. The army should be exercised in warfare, lest from want of training they become self-indulgent.' Throughout his reign he acted consistently on those avowed principles.

Rebellions. The acquisition of the leading fortresses was an essential preliminary for securing the firm grasp of the imperial government on Hindostan or upper India. Gwālīar, Chūnār, and Mīrthā had been acquired early in the reign. The next object of attack was Chitōr in the territory of the Sīsōdīa Rānā of Mewār in Rājputāna, now better known as the Udaipur State. Some delay in the execution of the Pādshāh's ambitious projects was caused by the outbreak of several rebellions headed by Uzbek officers, who disliked Akbar's Persianized ways, and would have preferred Kāmran's son, his cousin, to occupy the throne. In 1565 Akbar felt bound, as a matter of state necessity, to order the private execution of that cousin in order to prevent him from being used as a pretender. The act was the first of the long series

INDIA IN 1561

When Akbar ascended the throne in January 1556 he possessed no definite territory. Five years later he held firmly the Panjāb, with the Multān district ; the basin of the Ganges and Jumna as far east as Prayāg (later known as Allahabad), and also Gwālīor in Central India, and Ajmēr in Rājasthān. The Kābul territory (excluding Kandahār with its dependencies, then in Persian hands, see Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, pp. 592, 600) was governed in practical independence by the guardians of Akbar's younger half-brother, Mirzā Muhammad Hakim. The various Himalayan States, including Kashmir, were completely independent. Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa were under the government of an Afghān prince, Sulaimān Karārānī. Orissa then meant the modern Midnapore, Puri, Katāk (Cuttack), and Balasore Districts. The numerous chiefs in Rājasthān or Rājputāna, Sind, and the extensive wild country now forming the Central Provinces, Chutiā Nāgpur, and Orissa Tributary States, recognized no man as master. Gujarāt, which had been occupied by Akbar's father, Humāyūn, was ruled by a Muhammadan dynasty, as was Mālwa. The five kingdoms of the Deccan plateau, namely, Ahmadnagar, Birār (Berar), Bīdar, Bijāpur, and Golkonda, constituted out of fragments of the Bahmanī Empire, were autonomous under Musalmān dynasties, constantly at war one with another or with Vijayanagar. The boundaries frequently changed. Bijāpur was the most powerful of the five States. The small Muhammadan principality of Khāndēsh in the valley of the Tāptī was practically independent. The whole peninsular area to the south of the Krishnā and Tungabhadra rivers was under the lordship of the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar.

The Portuguese were strongly established on the western coast in fortified settlements taken from the Sultans of the Deccan, and situated at Goa, with a considerable territory attached ; Chaul, Bombaim (Bombay) with neighbouring places ; Basscin (see Malabari, *Bombay in the Making*, 1910, p. 21) ; Damān, and Diu. Their fleet controlled the mercantile and pilgrim traffic of the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf. No other European power had gained any footing on the soil of India, and no Englishman had even landed in the country. All delineations of frontiers and boundaries necessarily are merely approximate. The boundaries of the Sultanates of the Deccan are taken from Sewell's map in *A Forgotten Empire* (1900).



of similar executions which have stained the annals of the Mogul dynasty. The rebellions of Khān Zamān and the other Uzbek chiefs came to an end in 1567, leaving Akbar free to prepare for the siege of Chitōr. He deeply resented the independent position assumed by the Rānā, who was acknowledged universally to be the head of the Rājput clans. His family never allowed a daughter to enter the Mogul palace. Uday Singh, the reigning Rānā in 1567, unfortunately was a coward, unworthy of his noble ancestry, but his personal unworthiness did not prevent his brethren from organizing a gallant defence.

Siege of Chitōr. The siege of Chitōr, the most famous and dramatic military operation of the reign, lasted from October 20, 1567, to February 23, 1568, and would have lasted much longer had not Akbar by a lucky shot killed Jaimall, the chieftain who was the soul of the defence, having assumed the place which the recreant Rānā should have occupied. The garrison abandoned all hope when deprived of their leader. The women were immolated on funeral pyres to save them from dishonour, a dread rite known as *jauhar*, and usually practised by Rājputs when hard pressed. The clansmen of the regular garrison threw themselves on the Mogul swords and perished fighting. Akbar was so enraged by the fierce resistance that he massacred 30,000 of the country people who had taken part in the defence.

The gates of the fortress were taken off their hinges and removed to Agra. The huge kettledrums which used to proclaim for miles around the exit and entrance of the princes, and the massive candelabra which lighted the shrine of the Great Mother also were carried away to adorn the halls of the victor. Chitōr was left desolate, so that in the eighteenth century it became the haunt of tigers and other wild beasts. In these latter days it has partially recovered, and the lower town is now a prosperous little place with a railway station.

Fate of Rājputāna. The fall of Chitōr, followed in the next year (1569) by that of Ranthambhōr, made Akbar master of Rājputāna, although not in full sovereignty. The clans of Mewār never submitted to him, and he had to fight them from time to time during the greater part of his reign. But no doubt remained that the Mogul had become the paramount power over his Rājput neighbours. Most of the princes were content to receive official appointments as salaried dignitaries of the empire, and several gave daughters in marriage to the emperor. Rājputāna or Rājasthān was reckoned as a province or Sūba with the headquarters at Ajmēr, and the chivalry of the clans for the most part became devoted soldiers of the Pādshāh.

The strong fortress of Kālanjar in Bundēlkhān to the south of the Jumna opened its gates in 1569, the year in which Ranthambhōr was taken.

Akbar was thus left at liberty to indulge his ambition in other directions, and to extend his conquests as far as the Arabian Sea on the west and the Bay of Bengal on the east.

Akbar's love of art. The activity of Akbar's versatile mind was never limited to the business of war and conquest. As early as his seventh regnal year he had taken pains to requisition the services of Tānsēn, the best singer in India, and he always retained an intelligent interest in music. Every form of art also attracted him, and as a boy he had learned the elements of drawing and painting under two renowned artists. He commemorated the gallantry of Jaimall and Pattā, the heroes of Chitōr, by causing their effigies to be carved and set on stone elephants placed at the gate of the Agra fort.

Buildings. He loved building and possessed excellent taste in architecture. The magnificent stone-faced walls of the Agra Fort were begun in 1565, and hundreds of buildings modelled on the designs of Bengal and Gujarāt architects were erected within the precincts. Most of them were pulled down by Shāhjahān, whose canons of taste differed. The palace-city of Fathpur-Sikrī, twenty-three miles to the west of Agra, was begun in 1569, and finished about six or seven years later. It became the royal residence in 1570 or 1571.

Akbar's sons. Akbar, having had the misfortune to lose at least two infant children while living at Agra, came to regard that place as unlucky. A famous Muslim holy man, Shaikh Salīm (hishtī), who dwelt among the rocks at Sikrī, promised the emperor three sons who should survive. The prophecy was fulfilled. The eldest, born in August 1569, and named Prince Salīm, in honour of the saint, became the Emperor Jahāngīr in due course. Murād, the second prince, born in 1570, died from the effects of intemperance, about six years prior to his father's decease. The third son, Dāniyāl, met the same fate, some four years later than his brother.

Fathpur-Sikrī. The emperor, believing that the neighbourhood of Sikrī, where the saint dwelt, would be lucky for himself, resolved to build a vast mosque there for the use of the Shaikh, and beside it a palace and royal residence, equipped with all the conveniences thought necessary in that age and adorned with all the resources of art.

After the conquest of Gujarāt in 1573 the new city was named Fathābād or Fathpur, 'Victory town'. In order to distinguish it from many other places of the same name it is usually known as Fathpur-Sikrī. The great mosque is still perfect, and several of the more important palace buildings, now carefully conserved, are almost uninjured. They are constructed of the local red sandstone, a fine durable building material. Artists from all countries accessible to Akbar were collected to decorate the buildings with carving and frescoes. Most of the carving has escaped damage, but few fragments of painting survive.

Fathpur-Sikrī was occupied as the capital of the empire for only about fifteen years from 1570 to 1585, when Akbar went north and quitted his fantastic city for ever, excepting a passing visit in 1601. The latest building of importance is the Buland Darwāza

or Lofty Portal of the mosque, erected in 1575-6, probably as a triumphal arch to commemorate the conquest of Gujarāt.

Gujarāt. The rich province known as Gujarāt, lying between Mālwa and the Arabian Sea, had been held by Humāyūn for a short time, and long before had been subject to the Sultanate of Delhi in the days of the Khiljīs and Muhammad bin Tughlak. Akbar, therefore, could advance reasonable claims to the recovery of the province, which, in any case, invited aggression by its wealth. Just then, too, the government had fallen into disorder and the intervention of Akbar was actually asked for by a local chief.

Conquest of Gujarāt. The campaign began in July 1572. Surat was taken after a siege, and Akbar gave brilliant proof of his personal courage and prowess in a hard-fought skirmish at Sarnāl.¹ When the emperor, as he may now be called, started for home in the April following, he believed that the newly conquered province had been securely annexed and might be left safely in the charge of his officers. But he was hardly back in Fathpur-Sikrī when he received reports of a formidable insurrection headed by certain disorderly cousins of his known as the Mirzās, who already had given much trouble, and by a noble named Ikhtiyāru-l Mulk. Akbar, who was then in his thirty-first year and in the fullest enjoyment of his exceptional powers, bodily and mental, rose to the occasion. He prepared a fresh expeditionary force with extraordinary rapidity, looking after everything personally, and sparing no expense. He declared that nobody would be ready to start sooner than himself, and made good his promise. Having sent on a small advanced guard, he rode out of his capital on August 23 with a few attendants—all mounted on swift she-camels. The party, using what conveyance they could get, rushed across Rājputāna at hurricane speed and reached the outskirts of Ahmadābād, nearly six hundred miles distant, in eleven days all told—nine days of actual travelling—a marvellous feat of endurance. The emperor, with a tiny force of about three thousand horsemen, fought twenty thousand of the enemy near Ahmadābād on September 2, 1573, and gained a decisive victory. He was back again in his capital on October 4, Gujarāt having then become definitely part of the empire. The province was disturbed many times afterwards, but the imperial supremacy was never questioned until 1758 when the Marāthās occupied Ahmadābād.

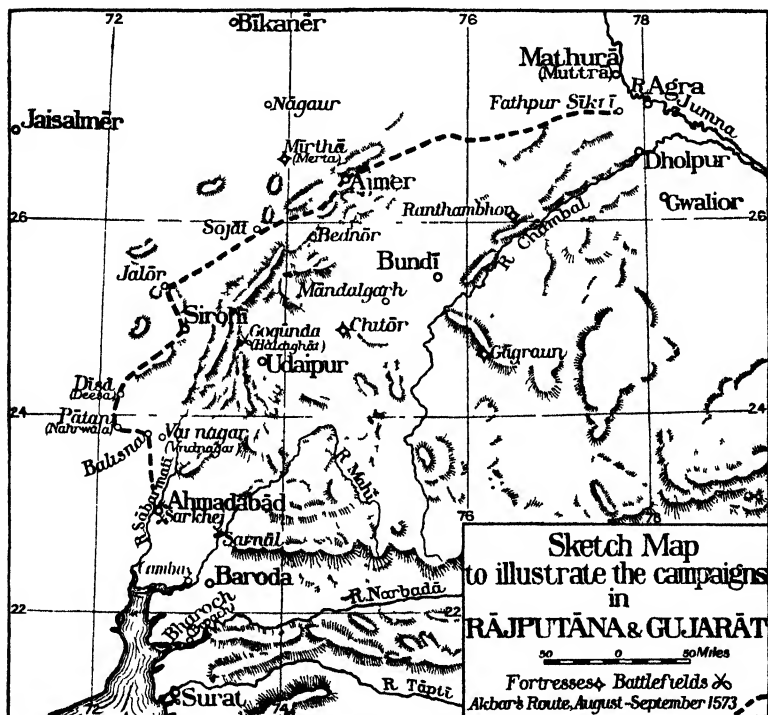
The conquest of Gujarāt an epoch. The conquest of Gujarāt marks an important epoch in Akbar's history. The annexation gave his government free access to the sea with all the rich commerce passing through Surat, and the other western ports. The territory and income of the State were vastly extended, so that the viceroyalty of Gujarāt became one of the most important posts in the gift of the sovereign. Akbar now first saw the sea and came into direct contact with the Portuguese, thus opening up relations which seriously affected the history of India, and introduced new influences operating upon his mind. The province became the practising

¹ Near Thāsra in the Kaira District, Bombay.

ground for Rājā Todar Mall, the able financier, who made his first revenue 'settlement' on improved principles in Gujarāt.¹

Reforms. The conclusion of the conquest gave Akbar and his advisers an opportunity for introducing several administrative reforms.

The Government made a determined effort to check the extensive frauds continually practised by the officials and fief-holders who



were bound each to supply a certain number of mounted men. The expedient principally relied on was known as the 'branding regulation', based on precedents set by Alāu-d dīn Khiljī and Shēr Shāh. Elaborate rules were laid down for branding every horse in the service of Government and thus making fraudulent

¹ The word 'settlement' in this technical sense is a translation of the Persian term *bandobast*. It includes all the processes necessary for the assessment of the 'land revenue' or crown rent, that is to say, the State's share of the produce of the cultivated land or its cash equivalent.

musters of cavalry more difficult. The measure met with so much covert opposition from influential persons whose interests were affected that the success attained was only partial.

Akbar sought to diminish the power of the fief-holders or *jāgīrdars*, and to enhance the authority of the crown by 'converting *jāgīrs* into crown-lands (*khālsa*)', that is to say, by dividing the imperial territory into convenient jurisdictions under the direct administration of salaried officials. Fīrōz Shāh Tughlak had favoured the system of paying his officers by assigning to each a district, from which the assignee collected the land revenue and cesses which otherwise would have been paid to the State. Akbar perceived clearly that that system tended to increase the power of local magnates and predisposed them to rebellion, while being also injurious to the fiscal interest of the central Government. He was fond of money and always keen to increase his income. He therefore gave up the practice of assigning *jāgīrs* or fiefs, so far as possible, and preferred to appoint officials remunerated by definite salaries.

The consequent increase of officialdom, if it was to become an efficient instrument of government, involved the establishment of a bureaucracy or graded service of State officials. Akbar accordingly regularized the previously existing system of *mansabdars*, or office-holders, and classified them in thirty-three grades. His arrangements will be described more particularly later. Here the fact is to be noted that all the above-mentioned measures of administrative and financial reform were worked out in the interval between the conquest of Gujarāt in 1573 and the invasion of Bengal in 1575. The regulations were further perfected in subsequent years.

Conquest of Bengal. Akbar needed no pretext to induce him to undertake the extension of his empire eastward and the subjugation of Bengal which long before had been subject to the Sultanate of Delhi. But even if he had been unwilling, the adventure was forced upon him by the rashness of Dāūd Khān, the young Afghan king of Bengal, who openly defied Akbar and believed himself to be more than a match for the imperial power. His father, Sulaimān Kararānī, had been careful to give formal recognition of the Pādshāh's suzerainty, while preserving his practical independence. In 1574 Akbar undertook the chastisement of the presumptuous prince. He voyaged down the rivers, and drove Dāūd from Patna and Hājipur in the height of the rainy season, when Hindu custom forbade active operations. But Akbar cared for weather conditions as little as Alexander of Macedon had done, and insisted on the campaign being pressed, much against the inclination of his officers. He himself returned to Fathpur-Sikrī. Dāūd was defeated early in 1575 at Tukarōī in the Balasore District. The battle would have been decisive and ended the war, but for the ill-judged lenity of old Munim Khān, the commander-in-chief, who granted easy terms and allowed Dāūd to recover strength. Another campaign thus became

necessary, and Dāūd was not finally defeated and killed until July 1576, in a battle fought near Rājmahāl. From that date Bengal became an integral part of the empire.

Orissa was not annexed until 1592.

Defeat of Rānā Partāp Singh. In this year (1576), which saw the annexation of Bengal, Kunwar Mān Singh of Ambēr (Jaipur), whose sister by adoption was married to the emperor, inflicted a crushing defeat on the brave Rānā Partāp Singh of Mewār, the son of the craven Udai Singh. The battle was fought at the entrance of the Haldīghāt Pass, near the town of Gogūnda, and is spoken of indifferently by either name. The Rānā was driven to take refuge in remote fastnesses, and the strongholds of his kingdom passed into the hands of the imperialists. But before his death in 1597 he had recovered most of them. Ajmēr, Chitōr, and Māndalgarh always remained in possession of the Pādshāh's officers.

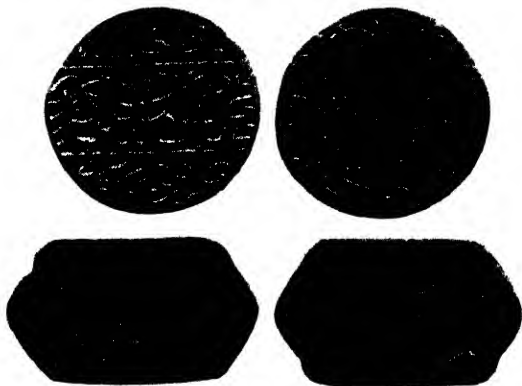
The empire in 1576. The conquest of Bengal in 1576, twenty years after his accession, made Akbar master of all Hindostan, including the entire basins of the Indus and Ganges, excepting Sind on the lower course of the Indus, which did not come into his possession until many years later. He had thus become sovereign of the most valuable regions of India, extending from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal and from the Himālaya to the Narbadā; besides the semi-independent Kābul province. The territories under his rule, with their huge population, fertile soil, numerous manufactures, and vast commerce, both internal and sea-borne, constituted even then an empire richer probably than any other in the world. The subsequent additions to his dominions, comprising Kashmīr, Orissa, Sind, Kandahār, Khāndēsh, and a portion of the Deccan, with the complete absorption of the Kābul province, merely rounded off the compact empire which had been gradually acquired and consolidated in the first twenty years of his reign.

The 'House of Worship'. From 1575 Akbar ordinarily left the command of armies in the field to his trusted officers, Mān Singh, Todar Mall, Abdurrahīm, or others. Early in that year,



RĀNĀ PARTĀP SINGH.

when he returned from Patna, he busied himself with building in the gardens of the palace at Fathpur-Sikri near the mosque a handsome edifice called the House of Worship (*'Ibadat Khana*) to be used as a debating-hall for the discussion of questions of religion and theology in which he was deeply interested. During the first three years, until 1578 or 1579, the discussions were limited to the various schools of Muslim theology. Even then they were sometimes embittered. From 1579 to 1582, when the debates came to an end, representatives of other religions were admitted and the disputants met in the private apartments of the palace. The site of the House of Worship has been utterly forgotten and no trace of the building, which was large and highly decorated, has been discovered. The probability is that Akbar pulled it down when he had no longer any use for it.



GOLD COINS OF AKBAR.

More reforms. The emperor during the years 1575 and 1576 also devoted much attention to the development of his administrative reforms, both those already mentioned and others. The record department was organized, and a record room was built at Fathpur-Sikri. The grading of the *mansabdars* was made more systematic, and a plan was devised for dividing the older provinces into artificial districts each yielding a quarter of a million of rupees in land revenue. That plan was a failure and the Government soon reverted to the use of the recognized sub-districts called *parganas*.

The mint was reorganized in 1577-8, and placed in charge of the celebrated artist, Abdu-s Samad, who had been Akbar's drawing-master twenty years earlier. The mint was a well-managed department, and Akbar's coinage was both abundant in quantity and excellent in quality.

The First Jesuit Mission. Akbar became personally ac-

quainted with European Christians for the first time in 1572, when he met certain Portuguese merchants at Cambay. In the next year, 1573, he extended his intercourse with the foreigners at Surat and adjusted terms of peace with Antonio Cabral, the envoy from the Viceroy at Goa. In 1576 and 1577 the emperor obtained some imperfect knowledge of the Christian religion from Father Julian Pereira, Vicar-General in Bengal, and from other sources, but only sufficient to make him eager to attain more accurate information. Antonio Cabral, who again visited him at the capital in 1578, not being qualified to answer all the imperial inquiries, Akbar resolved to obtain from Goa theological experts who should be able to resolve his doubt and satisfy his intense curiosity. In September 1579, accordingly, he dispatched to the authorities at Goa a letter begging them to send two learned priests capable of instructing him in the doctrines of the Gospels. He assured his expected guests of the most honourable reception and effectual protection.

The church authorities at Goa eagerly accepted the invitation, which seemed to open up a prospect of converting the emperor to Christianity, and with him his court and people.

The two principal missionaries selected, Father Ridolfo Aquaviva and Father Antonio Monserrate, both Jesuits or members of the Society of Jesus, were remarkable men, highly qualified for their task in different ways. Aquaviva won respect by a life of extreme asceticism. Monserrate, a person of much learning, was directed to prepare a history of the mission; and obeyed the command by writing an excellent Latin treatise, which ranks as one of the principal authorities for the reign of Akbar. The priests travelled from Damān and Surat through Khāndēsh, the wild Bhīl country, Mālwa, Narwar, Gwālīor, and Dhōlpur to Fathpur-Sikri, where they arrived on February 28 (o.s.), 1580, and were received with extraordinary honour. The emperor's second son, Prince Murād, then about ten years of age, was made over to Father Monserrate for instruction in the Portuguese language and Christian morals.

The 'Infallibility Decree'. When Akbar returned triumphant from Gujarāt in 1573, a learned, although rather heretical, Muslim theologian named Shaikh Mubārak greeted him by expressing the hope that the Pādshāh might become the spiritual as well as the temporal head of his people—in fact, Pope as well as King. At the time Akbar could not take action on the suggestion, but he never lost sight of the idea. In 1579 he felt free to give practical effect to the theologian's hint. Shaikh Mubārak prepared a formal document, which may be conveniently called the Infallibility Decree, authorizing the emperor to decide with binding authority any question concerning the Muslim religion, provided that the ruling should be in accordance with some verse of the Koran. The measure professed to be 'for the glory of God and the propagation of the Islām'. It had no connexion with any other religion. The decree, which was forced upon the acceptance of

the Ulamā, or Muhammadan doctors of divinity, obviously rendered superfluous the discussions in the House of Worship, which ceased accordingly. The building, as already observed, probably was then destroyed.

A little earlier in the same year (1579) Akbar had startled and offended religious people by displacing the regular preacher at the mosque, and himself mounting the pulpit, where he recited verses composed by Faizī, the elder son of Shaikh Mubūrak. About the same time he began to show many indications that he had lost faith in the creed of the Prophet of Mecca. The Jesuits, when coming up from the coast at the beginning of 1580, were informed that the emperor had even forbidden the use of the name of Muhammad in the public prayers.

Muslim alarm and revolt. The excessive favour shown by the sovereign to his Jesuit visitors, his obvious lack of faith in Islām, and his partial compliance with the ritual of Parsees and Jains, who shared the royal condescension along with the Christian priests, grievously alarmed his Musalmān subjects and produced important political effects.

The Bengal rebellion. The Musalmān chiefs in Bengal and Bihār, mostly of Afghan origin, were specially alarmed by Akbar's conduct, which was interpreted, and not without reason, as an attack upon the Muhammadan religion. They were also irritated by his administrative measures as carried out with considerable harshness by his officers, and for those reasons determined on rebellion. The Kāzī of Jaunpur boldly issued a formal ruling, affirming the lawfulness of rebellion against Akbar as an apostate, an act of high treason for which he paid with his life.

The rebellion broke out in January 1580, and continued for several years. The rebels aimed at replacing Akbar by his orthodox half-brother Muhammad Hakīm of Kābul, who supported their movement by an invasion of the Panjāb. But the Bengal insurgents were separated from their ally by hundreds of miles, and the emperor rightly judged that they might be left to his officers, who would dispose of the trouble in time, as they did.

The expedition to Kābul. He resolved to meet in person the graver danger threatened from Kābul. He equipped an overwhelming force with the utmost care, and marched from the capital in February 1581. Muhammad Hakīm, a feeble, drunken creature, fled from the Panjāb, and offered little resistance to the advance of Akbar, who entered Kābul in August. His brother kept out of the way and never met him. The emperor was back safely in his capital on December 1. He permitted Muhammad Hakīm to remain as ruler of the Kābul territory until his death from drink in 1585, when his territories passed under the direct government of the Pādshāh.

A critical year. The year 1581 was the most critical in the reign of Akbar, if his early struggles be omitted from consideration. When he marched from Fathpur-Sikrī in February, nearly all the influential Muhammadans were opposed to him, subtle traitors

surrounded his person, and the eastern provinces were in the possession of rebels. Defeat by Muhammad Hakīm would have involved the loss of everything—life included. Akbar took no chances. He cowed the traitors by one terrible execution, the solemn and deserved hanging of Khwāja Shāh Mansūr, his Finance Minister, and overawed his brother by a display of irresistible force. We are fortunate enough to possess an accurate detailed narrative of the Kābul campaign, written by Father Monserrate, tutor of Prince Murād, who accompanied his pupil and the emperor.

When Akbar came home his demeanour showed that he had been freed from a great terror, and that he now felt himself thoroughly secure for the first time in his life. From the beginning of 1582 nobody dared to oppose him. He could do literally what he pleased. He enjoyed and used that liberty to the end of his life twenty-three years later.

The Dīn Ilāhī. He promptly took advantage of his freedom by publicly showing his contempt and dislike for the Muhammadan religion, and by formally promulgating a new political creed of his own, adherence to which involved the solemn renunciation of Islām. The new religion, dubbed the Divine Monotheism (*Tauhid Ilāhī*) or Divine Religion (*Dīn Ilāhī*), rejected wholly the claims of Muhammad to be an inspired prophet, and practically replaced him by the emperor. Abu-l Fazl, Shaikh Mubārak's younger son, who had been introduced at court in 1574, became the high priest of the new creed, and the stage manager of the rather ridiculous initiation ceremonies. Many time-serving courtiers professed to become Akbar's disciples, surrendering to him life, property, honour, and religion, as the vows required, but the so-called religion never enlisted any considerable following, and it may well be doubted if a single person ever honestly believed in it. Abu-l Fazl, a man of immense learning and endowed with a singularly powerful intellect, certainly was far too intelligent to believe in his master's silly invention. But he was base enough to play the hypocrite's part and reap no small profit thereby, as the confidential secretary and adviser of the sovereign. Akbar's freak in professing to invent a new eclectic religion, compounded out of selections from several of the old religions, has received far more attention from most European historians than it deserves on its merits.

Akbar's rejection of Islām. From 1582, when the new religion was solemnly promulgated at a council, and indeed from a date considerably earlier, Akbar was not a Muhammadan, although on occasion he performed acts of conformity from motives of policy. He told Monserrate distinctly early in 1582 that he was not a Muslim, and that he paid no heed to the *kalima*, or Muhammadan formula of the faith. In that year and subsequent years he issued a stream of regulations openly hostile to Islām and inculcating practices learned from the Parsee, Hindu, and Jain teachers whom he received with marked favour and to whom he listened with profound attention. He appeared in public with

Hindu sectarian marks on his forehead,¹ while also showing reverence for the Virgin Mary, the Gospels, and the symbols of the Christian faith. His conduct at different times justified Christians, Hindus, Jains, and Parsees in severally claiming him as one of themselves. But his heart was never really touched by any doctrine, and he died as he had lived for many years, a man whose religion nobody could name. The authors who affirm that he formally professed Islām on his death-bed appear to be mistaken.

Fantastic ordinances. A few out of many fantastic ordinances may be mentioned. Regulations aimed at Islām, and amounting along with others to an irritating persecution of that religion, wholly inconsistent with the principle of universal toleration, included the following: ¹No child was to be given the name of Muhammad, and if he had already received it the name must be changed. ²The erection of new and the repair of old mosques were prohibited. ³The *sijdah*, or prostration, hitherto reserved for divine worship, was declared to be the due of the sovereign. ⁴The study of Arabic, Muhammadan law, or commentaries on the Koran was discouraged, and even the use of the specially Arabic letters in the alphabet was forbidden.

⁵Hindu prejudices were humoured by the prohibition of beef, garlic, and onions as food.

⁶Stringent restrictions on the use of flesh meat imposed by a series of enactments seem to have been mainly due to Jain influence.

⁷The worship of the sun, fire, and light, with sundry ritual observances enforced at court, were chiefly the result of Parsee teaching. Akbar's mode of life, on the whole, ceased to be that of a Muslim, and constantly approached the Hindu ideal of *dharma*, as modified by a Zoroastrian or Parsee tinge.

Akbar's audacity. The prestige resulting from the defeat of his brother in 1581, the suppression of the Bengal and Bihār rebellions, and the fate suffered by opponents of his policy enabled Akbar to do all the strange things mentioned above, besides many others equally startling, and yet to escape assassination or even any open display of disaffection.

If the British Government attempted such measures it could not last a week. Akbar must have possessed a wonderful personal magnetism to have ventured on legislation systematically outraging the sentiments and beliefs of the Muslim community, which had been the ruling class during all previous reigns since the Muhammadan conquest. The necessary backing of force, or the threat of force, which stood behind the audacious imperial policy, was supplied by the Rājput contingents under the command of the Rājās of Ambār (Jaipur), Mārwar (Jodhpur), and other states. But Akbar never was reduced to the necessity of relying wholly on Hindu support. Many Musalmān nobles continued to serve him to the end, whether they liked his proceedings or not.

Result of forty years' war. Whatever might be his religious

¹ The Jaipur portrait shows him wearing those marks.

vagaries Akbar never forgot his worldly ambitions. He secured the important strategic position at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna by building the Allahabad fort in 1583. Three years later, in 1586, he made war on Kashmīr and annexed the country, simply because the local sultan desired to preserve his independence and presumed to withhold complete submission to the master of Hindostan. Southern Sind was similarly absorbed in 1591; Orissa was conquered by Mān Singh in 1592; Balōchistan, with the coast region of Makrān, was added to the empire in 1594; and Kandahār was surrendered by its Persian governor a year later.

Thus, in 1596, every part of India to the north of the Narbadā, besides the vast territories of Kābul, Ghaznī, and Kandahār, with their dependencies, acknowledged the might of Akbar. No man within that enormous area presumed to call himself independent, unless an exception be made in favour of certain tribes on the frontiers and in the hills. In 1586 the Yūsufzī and allied tribes of the north-western frontier succeeded in defeating one of Akbar's armies and killing Rājā Bīrbal, one of his dearest and most intimate friends. The emperor could afford to overlook such minor military mishaps, and might well feel proud of the results gained by forty years of war.

Ambitious projects. The soaring ambition of Akbar was not bounded by the Narbadā, or even by the limits of India and Afghanistan. He avowed his hopes both of regaining the ancient dominions of his ancestors in Central Asia beyond the Oxus, and of bringing under his control all the sultanates of the Deccan. Moreover, he ardently desired to expel the Portuguese from his province of Gujarāt, and vainly supposed that he could do so without the help of a fleet. But he never succeeded even in coming near to an attempt on Transoxiana, and his attacks on the Portuguese settlements were complete failures. His extremely restricted conquests in the Deccan fell far short of his expectation. Before the campaign in the Deccan is described it will be convenient to revert to Akbar's curious relations with Christianity and more especially with the Jesuit missionaries.

Akbar and the Jesuits. The first Jesuit mission of Aquaviva and Monserrate ended in 1583 with the withdrawal of Aquaviva. The hopes of Akbar's conversion which had been entertained at Goa were grievously disappointed. A second mission sent in 1590 at the emperor's urgent request was recalled in 1592, having effected nothing. The third mission, also dispatched in compliance with a pressing invitation, arrived in 1595 at Lahore where the court then resided, and became a more or less permanent institution, not without its effect on secular politics. The leading members were Fathers Jerome Xavier and Emmanuel Pinheiro. Their letters, of which many have been printed, are first-class authorities for the latter part of Akbar's reign. The missionaries, although they did not succeed in converting either the sovereign or his nobles, or indeed in making many converts of any kind won from

Akbar the right to make converts if they could, and obtained from him extraordinary privileges. Both he and his son Prince Salim professed extravagant veneration for the Virgin Mary and for Christian images. It is clear that the excessive attention lavished on the priests was not the outcome of genuine religious fervour, but was dictated chiefly by the desire to secure Portuguese military help. Akbar in 1600 made special efforts to obtain the loan of the foreigners' superior ordnance for the siege of Asirgarh, which he could not breach with his own guns; while the prince, meditating rebellion, and in reality indifferent to religion, was equally eager to enlist their aid against his father. In 1601 Akbar sent a final embassy to Goa without any pretence of seeking religious instruction, but got no satisfaction from the wily Goanese authorities, who understood the game perfectly. The Jesuits on their part combined patriotic politics with missionary zeal and acted as unofficial agents of the Portuguese Government, or rather of the Government of Spain, with which Portugal was then united.¹

An Englishman named John Mildenhall, who bore a letter from Queen Elizabeth, asking for trading facilities equal to those granted to the Portuguese, visited Akbar in the last year of his life, and did his best to oppose the Jesuits with their own weapons of intrigue and bribery.

Famine. A terrible famine, as bad as any recorded in the long list of Indian famines, desolated the whole of Hindostan or northern India and Kashmir for three or four years from 1595 to 1598. The historians barely notice the calamity, the fullest description being that recorded by a minor author in these few words:

'A kind of plague also added to the horrors of this period, and depopulated whole houses and cities, to say nothing of hamlets and villages. In consequence of the dearth of grain and the necessities of ravenous hunger, men ate their own kind. The streets and roads were blocked up with dead bodies, and no assistance could be rendered for their removal.'

Some slight relief measures were adopted, but even the proverbial good fortune of Akbar could not either prevent or remedy the effects of long continued failure of rain.

The Deccan campaign. Akbar attempted by means of diplomatic missions to induce the rulers of Khāndēsh in the valley of the Taptī, and of the more distant sultanates of Ahmadnagar (including Berar), Golkonda, and Bijāpur, to formally recognize his suzerainty and consent to pay tribute. He did not trouble himself about the small principality of Bidar, which continued to exist until some years after his death. The imperial envoys obtained no substantial success except in Khāndēsh, which promised obedience. The other states politely evaded Akbar's demands. He therefore determined on war, not to redress any injury or abate any grievance, but simply in order to enforce submission to his will.

¹ The union of the crowns of Portugal and Spain was effected in 1580, and lasted until December 1640.

Operations, which began in 1593, were impeded by internal dissensions on both sides. The imperialist generals, Prince Murād, and Abdurrahīm, the Khān Khānān, could not agree, while the states of the Deccan continued to quarrel among themselves.

A gallant princess, named Chānd Bibi, defended the city of Ahmadnagar with valour equal to that shown by Rāni Durgāvati in Gondwānā thirty years earlier, but in 1596 was constrained to accept a treaty by which the province of Berar was ceded to the emperor. War soon broke out again, which was terminated in August 1600 by the death of Chānd Bibi and the fall of Ahmadnagar.

Akbar goes south. Meantime, the Sultan of Khāndēsh, Mirān Bahādur Shāh, had repented of his submission and resolved to fight, relying on the strength of his fortress of Asīrgarh, which was defended by renegade Portuguese gunners.

Akbar, who had been detained in the Panjāb for thirteen years on account of his fear of an invasion by the Uzbeks, was relieved from that anxiety by the death early in 1598 of Abdullah Khān Uzbek, the able ruler of Transoxiana. He perceived that the effective prosecution of the Deccan campaign was hopeless without his personal supervision. Accordingly, he marched from Lahore to Agra late in 1598, and in July of the following year was able to resume his advance southwards. He placed Prince Salīm in charge of the capital and Ajmēr with orders to complete the subjugation of the Rānā of Mewār. But the prince, who already meditated rebellion, ignored his father's commands, so that the Rānā was left in peace.

Meantime, in May 1599, Prince Murād had died of delirium tremens in the Deccan, and so had removed one competitor from Salīm's path. No rival now remained except Dāniyāl, a drunken sot.

About the middle of 1599 Akbar crossed the Narbadā, and occupied Burhānpur, the capital of Khāndēsh, without opposition. He then proceeded to make arrangements for the investment and siege of Asīrgarh, which was only a few miles distant from Burhānpur and could not be left in enemy hands. It was one of the strongest fortresses in the world at that date, and so amply furnished with water, provisions, guns, and munitions that its defenders might reasonably expect to hold out for years.

Siege of Asīrgarh. The emperor soon found that the task which he had set himself was beyond his military powers. His artillery was unable to breach the walls and he failed to obtain Portuguese guns. After the siege had gone on for about six months, from February to August 1600, he resolved to try treachery. He inveigled Bahādur Shāh into his camp for the purpose of negotiation, swearing by his own head that the king would be allowed to return in safety. But Akbar, who was pressed for time, shamelessly violated his oath and detained Bahādur Shāh, hoping that the garrison would surrender after the usual Indian fashion when deprived of their leader. He forgot the Portuguese

gunners, who gallantly maintained the defence. The siege dragged on until January 17 (o.s.), 1601, when the gates were opened by golden keys, or, in other words, Akbar corrupted the Khāndēsh officers by heavy payments. That is the true story of the fall of Asīrgarh, which has been disgracefully falsified by Abu-l Fazl and the other official historians. The place was absolutely impregnable against Akbar's means of offence, and could not be reduced by investment. But he was unable to wait, because Prince Salīm had already begun his rebellion and it was indispensable that his father should return to the capital. Asīrgarh, thus shamefully won by perfidy and bribery, was the last conquest of Akbar, whose hitherto unbroken good fortune no longer attended him. The remaining years of his life were rendered miserable by the treachery of his eldest son, the child of so many prayers, by the scandalous death of Prince Dāniyāl, and other sorrows upon sorrows.

Three new provinces. The emperor made all possible haste in organizing the administration of the newly acquired territories, which were formally constituted as three Sūbas or provinces, namely, Ahmadnagar, Berar, and Khāndēsh. But the Ahmadnagar Sūba had little more than a formal existence, because the greater part of the kingdom remained in the hands of a member of the local royal family. Prince Dāniyāl was appointed Viceroy of southern and western India—that is to say, of the three new Sūbas, with Mālwa and Gujarāt. Akbar arrived at Agra in 1601, probably in May.

Submission of Prince Salīm. Prince Salīm continued in open rebellion, holding court as a king at Allahabad. In August 1602 he inflicted a terrible blow upon his father's feelings by hiring a robber chief named Bīr Singh Bundēla, to murder Akbar's trusted friend and counsellor, Abu-l Fazl, whom the prince hated and feared. A temporary and insincere reconciliation between father and son was patched up by Salīma Bēgam in 1603. But no real peace was possible until after the death of Prince Dāniyāl, which occurred in April 1604, when he died from the effects of drink, like his brother Murād. Salīm being then the only son left, Akbar became really anxious to arrange terms with him. The one other possible successor was Salīm's son, Prince Khusrū, a popular and amiable youth, whose claims were favoured by Rājā Mān Singh and Azīz Kokā.

In November 1604 Salīm was persuaded to come to court, probably under threats that, if he refused, Khusrū would be declared heir apparent. His father received him with seeming cordiality. He then drew him suddenly into an inner apartment, slapped him soundly in the face, and confined him in a bathroom under the charge of a physician and two servants, as if he were a lunatic requiring medical treatment. After a short time, the length of which is variously stated, Akbar released his son, restored him to favour, made him Viceroy of the provinces to which Dāniyāl had been appointed, and allowed him to reside at Agra as the acknowledged heir apparent.



THE SŪBAS.

(1) Kābul; (2) Lahore (Panjāb), including Kashmīr; (3) Multān, including Sind; (4) Delhi; (5) Agra; (6) Awadh (Oudh); (7) Allahabad; (8) Ajmēr; (9) Ahmadābād (Gujarāt); (10) Mālwa; (11) Fihār; (12) Bengal, including Orissa; (13) Khāndēsh; (14) Berar (Bīrār); (15) Ahmadnagar.

The prince was cowed by his father's rough handling and gave no further trouble.

Death of Akbar. In September 1605 Akbar became ill with severe diarrhoea or dysentery, which the physicians failed to cure. While on his death-bed and unable to speak he received Salīm and indicated by unmistakable gestures that he desired his succession. The emperor passed away in silence, after midnight, early on Thursday morning, January 17 (o.s.=27 N.S., and Wednesday night by Muhammadan reckoning). Even before his death rumours that he had been poisoned were current. Those rumours were repeated by many early authors after his decease. The symptoms of Akbar's fatal illness, so far as recorded, are consistent with the administration of a secret irritant poison, such as diamond dust, but the evidence is not sufficient to permit of a definite judgement on the question whether or not he died a natural death. He was buried at Sikandara near Agra in the mausoleum which he had begun, and which his successor rebuilt to a fresh design. His funeral was hurried and poorly attended. 'Thus', observes Du Jarric, the eminent Jesuit historian, 'does the world treat those from whom it expects no good and fears no evil. That was the end of the life and reign of King Akbar.'

Desecration of Akbar's grave. Unhappily, he was not allowed to rest in peace. The Jāts of the neighbourhood, whose revolt began in 1688 during the absence of Aurangzēb in the Deccan, attacked the mausoleum in 1691, breaking in the massive bronze gates, tearing away the costly ornaments, and destroying everything which they could not carry off. Their wrath against their Mogul oppressors led them to a still more shocking outrage. 'Dragging out the bones of Akbar, they threw them into the fire and burnt them.'

Succession of Salīm. The intrigues of Rājā Mān Singh and Azīz Kokā to set aside Prince Salīm and raise his son Prince Khusrū to the throne having failed, largely owing to Rājput resistance, Prince Salīm was allowed to take his father's place without further opposition.

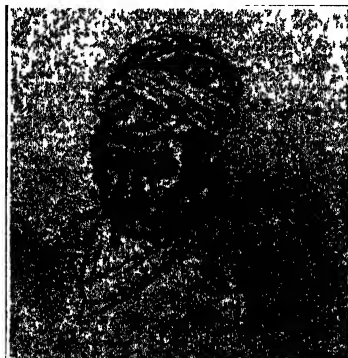
Akbar's personal qualities. Akbar was of middle stature, probably about five feet seven inches in height, compactly built, and possessed of immense bodily strength, which he enjoyed using. His complexion was dark rather than fair, and his voice was loud. He looked every inch a king, and observers were specially impressed by his eyes, which have been vividly described by a Jesuit friend as 'vibrant like the sea in sunshine'. His naturally hot temper, usually kept under strict control, blazed out in wrath at times, as when he felled Adham Khān, or ordered an unlucky lamplighter to be thrown from the battlements because he had fallen asleep when on duty. His storms of passion subsided as suddenly as they arose, leaving no bitterness behind them. His manners were charming, and his sympathetic condescension to humble folk won all hearts. He was, as Bartoli neatly says, 'great with the great, and lowly with the lowly'. He honestly

desired to do justice, and did it to the best of his ability in the stern fashion of his times, taking precautions against the too hasty execution of his sentences. Cruelty for its own sake gave him no pleasure, but he occasionally sanctioned barbarous punishments which shock the modern reader.

Intellectually, he was a man of boundless curiosity, and endowed with extraordinary versatility of mind. People said that there was nothing that he knew not how to do, and he loved doing mechanical work in wood or metal with his own hands. The founding of cannon and the manufacture of matchlocks specially interested him. His mechanical tastes and his habits of minute observation gave him a singular mastery over the details of departmental administration, which he combined happily with exceptional breadth of view. Every department, whether of his vast household or of the imperial government, came constantly under his watchful eye, and he spared himself no labour. He rarely slept more than three hours at a time and seemed to be almost incapable of fatigue.

Formal illiteracy. Although when a boy he had steadily refused to learn his lessons, and was the despair of successive tutors, so that to the end of his days he could not decipher a written word or sign his own name, he was, nevertheless, well-read and well-informed in many subjects, after an unsystematic fashion. He loved to have books of history, theology, poetry, and other kinds read to him, and his prodigious memory enabled him to learn through the ear more than an ordinary man could learn through the eye. He was thus able to take an active part in the discussion of literary and abstruse subjects with such skill that the listener could hardly believe him to be illiterate in the formal sense. His special taste was for endless debates on the merits of rival religions, which he examined from a strangely detached point of view.

Religious history. Akbar was brought up as a Sunnī Musalmān, and, as he himself confessed, gladly persecuted heretics during the early years of his reign. Shaikh Mubārak, father of Faizī and Abu-l Fazl, then narrowly escaped execution. But it is probable that Akbar even in boyhood was never thoroughly orthodox. One of his tutors introduced him to the works of the Persian Sūfī mystics, and he evinced at an early age a strong liking for the society of Hindu holy men, whose speculations were much akin to those of the Sūfis. Akbar was a mystic all his life, and on several occasions saw visions which seemed to bring



AKBAR.



AKBAR ON THRONE.

him into direct communion with the Unknown God. He suffered from some form of epileptic disease, which may be regarded as the physical explanation of many of his peculiarities, including the melancholy which constantly oppressed him, and constrained him to seek relief in an unceasing round of diversions.

His religious history may be divided into three periods. Until 1575, or possibly until 1578, he was a convinced Musalmān of the Sunnī sect, regular in his observance of the prescribed ritual, a zealous builder of mosques, and a constant suppliant at the tombs of the saints. His last recorded mosque-building was the noble Buland Darwāza or lofty Portal at Fathpur-Sikrī erected in 1575-6. He continued to attend public worship regularly until 1578, and made his last pilgrimage to the shrine at Ajmēr in 1579. His substantial orthodoxy in the eyes of the world was not compromised by his leaning to Sūfī mysticism, which he shared with many learned doctors of the law.

From 1579, the year in which he ascended the pulpit and issued the Infallibility Decree, his belief in Islām was weak and shaky. By the beginning of 1582, after his victorious return from Kābul, that belief had wholly disappeared. He tried then the hopeless experiment of inventing a new religion to suit the whole empire, desiring that Hindus and Musalmāns should worship in unison the One God, recognizing the Pādshāh as His vicegerent on earth and the authorized exponent of His will.

The gradual changes in Akbar's religious views, largely brought about by his own thinking over the Sūfī studies of his boyhood and the diversity of creeds among his people, were furthered by the suggestions of Shaikh Mubārak, and the later confidential intercourse with the Shaikh's sons, Faizī and Abu-l Fazl, which began about 1575. Other influences co-operated with their teaching. Jains, Parsees, Hindus of various kinds, and Christians all took their share in modifying the opinions of the emperor and determining the lines of his policy.¹

Toleration in theory and practice. The avowed principle of both Abu-l Fazl and Akbar was universal toleration (*sulh-i kul*). During the latter half of the reign that principle was fully applied in favour of Hindus, Christians, Jains, and Parsees, who enjoyed full liberty both of conscience and of public worship. But it was cynically violated in respect of Musalmāns, who were subjected to many acts of outrage of their feelings and of irritating persecution. Examples have been given above, and many more are on record. That failure of Akbar to act up to his own boasted principles is the principal blot on his public character to my mind.

Treatment of Hindus. Akbar's new policy in relation to his Hindu subjects was not determined mainly by his personal fancies or beliefs in matters of religion. At an early age he perceived

Neither Akbar nor Abu-l Fazl ever enjoyed an opportunity of meeting learned Buddhists. The statements made in several books that Buddhists joined in the debates on religion are erroneous.

the political necessity that the Pādshāh should be the impartial sovereign of all his subjects, irrespective of creed. That sound political instinct determined his action as quite a young man in abolishing the *jizya* and pilgrim dues and in marrying Hindu princesses. Those measures were taken while he was still a sincere practising Muslim. Marriages between a Muhammadan king and the daughters of Hindu Rājās were not a novelty. Several of the Deccan Sultans had formed such alliances, which were not unknown at Delhi; but Akbar contracted his marriages in a different spirit, and accepted his Hindu male connexions as members of the royal family. No pressure was put on the princes of Ambēr, Mārwar, or Bikanēr to adopt Islām, and they were freely entrusted with the highest military commands and the most responsible administrative offices. That was an entirely new departure, due to Akbar himself, not to Abu-l Fazl or another. The policy afforded the strongest support to the throne in the reigns of Akbar and his son, and continued to bear fruit even in the reigns of his grandson, Shāhjahān, and his great-grandson, Aurangzēb. But Aurangzēb's ill-judged policy of worrying Hindus gradually estranged the Rājput chieftains and largely contributed to the rapid dissolution of the empire which occurred after his death.

The Hindu queens, who were given Muslim titles and received Muslim burial, probably adopted Muhammadan modes of life to some extent, but contemporary pictures prove that they were allowed to practise their own religious rites inside the palace.¹ No doubt their society must have had some effect upon Akbar's religious opinions and practice.

Administration. The organization of the government undoubtedly was immensely improved by Akbar, who was the real founder of the Mogul empire. The autocracy or absolute power of the Pādshāh remained unshaken, whatever administrative arrangements might be made, and the merits of the government depended mainly on the character of the supreme ruler. Akbar's policy aimed at the enhancement of his personal authority and revenue. He therefore organized a tolerably efficient official service and developed an improved system for the assessment and collection of the revenue, with the help of Rājā Todar Mall, who, I think, was on the whole the ablest and most upright of the great imperial officers.

The administration was framed on military lines. The governor of a province, the Sūbadār, Nawāb Nāzim, &c., of later times, is called Sīpāhsālār, or commander-in-chief, in the *Ain-i Akbari*. He maintained a court modelled on that of his sovereign, and possessed practically full powers so long as he retained office. Subject to his liability to recall he was an absolute autocrat. The administrative officials, who exercised general powers in addition to their military duties, were called *mansabdārs*, as in Persia, the word simply meaning 'office-holder'. The *mansabdārs* were divided into thirty-three classes, each member of each class

¹ *H. F. A.*, p. 332.

being supposed to furnish a certain number of cavalry to the imperial army. The three highest grades, 'commanders' of from 7,000 to 10,000, were ordinarily reserved for the princes. The other 'commands' or *mansabs* ranged from 10 to 5,000. But the numbers used for grading purposes did not agree with the actual facts. A 'commander of 5,000', for instance, might not be required to furnish more than 1,000 or 2,000 horsemen. The rules on those matters are too complicated for exposition in this place. The higher *mansabddars* drew enormous salaries. Akbar, as already observed, preferred to pay his local officers by salaries rather than by assignments of territory and of the State revenue derivable from it. The permanent regular army was very small. The greater part of the imperial forces consisted of contingents furnished by the Rājās and *mansabddars*, each under its own chief.

Every considerable official exercised general administrative and judicial powers, especially in criminal cases. Civil disputes ordinarily were left to the Kāzīs, to be settled under Koranic law. No regular judicial service existed, except in so far as the Kāzīs formed such, and each governor or other person in authority did what he pleased, subject to the risk of imperial displeasure. No code existed, and no written judgements were delivered. Officers were instructed to pay little heed to witnesses or oaths, and to rely rather on their own discernment and knowledge of human nature. Even capital punishment was inflicted at discretion, and might assume any form. No horror in the way of penalty could be considered illegal.

Revenue system. Rājā Todar Mall, following the precedent set by Shēr Shāh, carried out in many parts of the empire an improved system of 'settlement', or assessment of the land revenue, based on fairly accurate measurement and a classification of the kind of soil, whether newly broken waste, or old tillage, combined with consideration of the crop grown and the mean prevailing prices. He thus increased the imperial revenue and gave the peasant a certain amount of security. The revenue was collected directly from the individual cultivator, so far as possible. In modern technical language the 'settlement was ryotwar'. But the assessment was severe. Akbar, who preferred cash rents, took the equivalent of one-third of the gross produce instead of the one-sixth prescribed by the Hindu scriptures. The cultivators were supposed to be compensated by the abolition of a crowd of cesses. But we do not know how far the orders for such abolition were acted on, and have hardly any information concerning the actual working of Todar Mall's revenue system in the days of Akbar. The comparative peace which the imperial arms assured must have tended to create a considerable amount of agricultural prosperity. Trade certainly was brisk, and in ordinary years food was extraordinarily cheap.

Famines. Famines, however, occurred. We hear of several. The one of 1555-6 at the beginning of the reign was extremely severe; and that of 1595-8, when Akbar's career of conquest

was almost completed, seems to have been one of the worst in the long list of Indian famines. It lasted for three or four years, and must have caused serious effects, of which there is no record.

Akbar's friends. Akbar, after his early years, chose his friends and great officers from among both Hindus and Muhammadans, with a leaning in favour of the former.

His most intimate Muslim friends were the brothers Faizī and Abu-l Fazl, sons of Shaikh Mubārak. Faizī, who cared little for wealth or office, devoted himself chiefly to literary pursuits.



ABU-L FAZL.

Abu-l Fazl, a man of profound learning, untiring industry, and commanding intellect, resembled Francis Bacon, his junior contemporary, in combining the parts of scholar, author, courtier, and man of affairs. He was a faithful servant of Akbar, 'the King's Jonathan', as the Jesuits called him, and was for many years his confidential secretary and adviser.

Rājā Mān Singh, nephew and adopted son of Rājā Bhagwān Dās of Ambēr or Jaipur, was one of Akbar's best generals and governors. He is said to have ruled the eastern provinces with 'great prudence and justice'.

Rājā Todar Mall, who had no advantages of birth, made his way to the top of the imperial service by sheer merit and ability. He was a good commander in the field as well as an unrivalled revenue expert. He was free from avarice, and

was, perhaps, the ablest man, excepting Abu-l Fazl, in the service.

Rājā Birbal, originally a poor Brahmin versifier, obtained his promotion by making himself agreeable to Akbar in the capacity of companion and jester. In 1586 the emperor made a mistake in appointing him to command an army against the fierce Yūsufzī tribe on the north-western frontier. Naturally he failed, ran away, and was killed, much to the emperor's sorrow.

Many other notable personages adorn the annals of the reign. The Jesuit Fathers, especially Aquaviva, Monserrate, and Jerome Xavier, must be reckoned as among the intimate friends of Akbar, who had a genuine liking for them personally, quite apart from political motives.

Literature and art. A long, prosperous, and victorious reign encouraged literature and art, which were in brisk demand at a magnificent court, where they received intelligent patronage from Akbar. Important histories in Persian were composed by Abu-l Fazl, Nizāmu-dīn, Badāonī, and other authors. The *Ain-i Akbarī*, or *Institutes of Akbar*, compiled by Abu-l Fazl, as the result of seven years' labour, gives a wonderful survey of the empire. Among the poets or versifiers writing in Persian Faizī was considered the best. But the greatest author of the time, Tulsī Dās the Hindi poet, does not seem to have been known to Akbar personally. His noble work, the Hindi Rāmāyana, or *Rām-charitmanas*, is familiar to all Hindus in Upper India.

The ancient art of Indian painting, which had always continued to exist, although examples dating between the seventh and the sixteenth centuries are extremely rare, received a new direction from Akbar, who induced the Hindu artists to learn Persian technique and imitate Persian style. The works produced in a spirit of mere imitation were not altogether successful, but an Indo-Persian school developed gradually, and became rich in coloured drawings of high merit. The portraits of the Mogul period, which are especially deserving of commendation, attained their highest degree of perfection in the reign of Shāhjahān. The art of Akbar's time is cruder



RĀJĀ BĪRBAL.

and more conventional. The frontispiece of my work *Akbar the Great Mogul* reproduces accurately the earliest known Indo-Persian painting, dating from about 1557 or 1558. The next earliest extant specimens are the fragments of fresco at Fathpur-Sikrī, executed about 1570. Most of the ancient Hindu paintings appear to have been applied to walls in either fresco or tempera, or a combination of both processes, and necessarily were lost when the buildings fell to ruin or were destroyed.

The architecture of Akbar's reign is characterized by a happy blending of Hindu and Muhammadan styles, which is a reflex or expression in stone of his personal feelings and convictions. Abu-l Fazl truly remarks in an elegant phrase that 'His Majesty plans splendid edifices, and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay'. The best collection of his architectural achievements is to be seen at Fathpur-Sikrī, but other notable buildings of Akbar's time exist elsewhere.

CHRONOLOGY

Leading Dates only.

Death of Humāyūn	Jan. 1556
Enthronement of Akbar	Feb. 1556
Second battle of Pānīpat ; famine	Nov. 1556
Dismissal of Bairām Khān	1560
Execution of Adham Khān	1562
Uzbeg rebellions	1565-7
Fall of Chitōr	1568
Building of Fathpur-Sikrī	1569-70
Conquest of Gujarāt	1572-3
Administrative reforms	1573-4
Conquest of Bengal ; defeat of Rānā Partāp at Gogūnda or Haldighāt	1576
'Infallibility decree'	1579
First Jesuit mission ; Bengal rebellion	1580
Victorious expedition to Kābul	1581
Proclamation of <i>Dīn Ilāhī</i>	1582
Death of Muhammad Hakīm ; absorption of Kābul	1585
Annexation of Kashmir	1586
Second Jesuit mission	1590
Annexation of southern Sind	1591
Annexation of Orissa	1592
Annexation of Balōchistan and Makrān	1594
Annexation of Kandahār ; third Jesuit mission	1595
Famine	1595-8
Annexation of Berar	1596
Fall of Ahmadnagar	1600
Surrender of Asirgarh ; embassy to Goa	1601
Prince Salīm in rebellion	1601-4
Arrest of Prince Salīm	Nov. 1604
Death of Akbar	Oct. 1605

AUTHORITIES

The principal contemporary authorities are of three kinds, namely, (i) the *Āin-i Akbarī* by ABU-L FAZL, a survey of the empire and imperial system, as translated and annotated by Blochmann and Jarrett, Calcutta, 1873, 1891 : (ii) three histories in Persian, namely, (1) the *Akbarnāma* by Abu-l Fazl, translated by H. Beveridge ; vol. i, Calcutta, 1907, vol. ii, Calcutta, 1912, vol. iii, in proof ; (2) the *Tabakāt-i Akbarī* by NIZĀMU-D DĪN, translated by Dowson in *E. & D.*, vol. v ; and (3) the *Muntakhabu-i Tawārīkh* by ABDU-L KĀDIR AL BADĀONĪ, vol. ii, translated by Lowe, as corrected by Cowell, Calcutta, 1884 : and (iii) accounts by various Jesuit writers, most of which are summarized by MACLAGAN in his article entitled 'Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar' in *J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxxv, part i, 1896. The Latin work, *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius* by Father ANTONIO MONSERRATE, S.J. (1582), ed. by Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., Calcutta, 1914, which was not known to MacLagan, is of high importance.

Full details about those works and all minor authorities will be found in the author's book, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, A.D. 1542-1605, Clarendon Press, 1917. The essay entitled 'Akbar's Land-Revenue System as described in the *Āin-i Akbarī*' by Moreland and Yusuf Ali (*J. R. A. S.*, 1918, pp. 1-42) is valuable and novel.

CHAPTER 4

Jahāngīr.

Accession of Jahāngīr. Jahāngīr's enthronement at Agra took place on October 24, 1605, a week after his father's death. He assumed the style of Nūru-d dīn Muhammad Jahāngīr Pādshāh Ghāzī, the first name meaning 'light of the faith' and the third 'world-seizer'. He had secured his succession by making two solemn promises, one that he would protect the Muhammadan religion, the other that he would not cause any harm to the persons who had supported Khusrū's claims. Both undertakings were honourably kept. The Muhammadans were gratified by his changed attitude to the Jesuit Fathers, whom he neglected as if he had never seen them, while the active adherents of Khusrū, including Rājā Mān Singh, received honours and dignities. He also issued various orders by way of reforms, the most important being the abolition of many transit and customs duties. But, as Sir Henry Elliot has shown, such orders had little practical effect. They need not be specified in detail. The provision of a golden bell-pull to be used by any importunate suppliant was a piece of silly make-believe.

Rebellion of Prince Khusrū. Prince Khusrū, who was extraordinarily popular, and had many well-wishers, could not bring himself to resign hopes of the crown which at one time had seemed to be within his grasp. According to one account he feared that his father might take the precaution of blinding him. Whether actuated by ambition or by fear or by both motives, he slipped out of the Agra Fort on April 6, 1606 (o.s.), and having collected a considerable force of troopers and obtained funds in various ways hastened to the Panjāb. His father pursued him with the utmost energy, dispensing with all the usual imperial hindrances to rapid movement. The governor of Lahore refused to open his gates to the prince, who, after some fighting, was captured while attempting to cross the Chināb on April 27, exactly three weeks after his escape from Agra. Jahāngīr, who never again displayed such energy, then pitched his camp in a garden near Lahore, and proceeded to take deliberate and fearful vengeance.

The rebel prince, loaded with chains, was brought before his father, who required the villagers to prepare a large number of sharp stakes. Two of Khusrū's principal followers were cruelly tortured by being enclosed in raw hides, one in that of an ox and the other in that of an ass; and in that fashion, seated on asses, were paraded through the city. One of the men died; the other, who barely escaped with his life, was afterwards pardoned. On Wednesday, May 7, two or three hundred of the prince's adherents were either hung from the trees or impaled on the prepared stakes set up along each side of the road. Jahāngīr, mounted on a splendidly caparisoned elephant, rode between the ranks, followed

by his wretched son riding on a small unadorned elephant, with Mahābat Khān behind him, to point out the names of the writhing victims.¹

Guru Arjun. When Khusrū was fleeing before his father, and in dire distress, he had asked the Sikh Guru, Arjun, at Tarn-Taran for assistance. The holy man, moved it is said, merely by compassion, gave the fugitive five thousand rupees. When the report came before the emperor Jahāngīr summoned the Guru, and after hearing his dignified reply fined him two hundred thousand rupees. The Guru, having refused to pay a single cowree, was savagely tortured for five days until he died (June 1606). The punishment, it will be observed, was inflicted as a penalty for high treason and contumacy, and was not primarily an act of religious persecution.² Khusrū was blinded, but not completely, and subsequently recovered the sight of one eye to some extent. Sultan Parvīz, the emperor's second son, was recognized as heir apparent.

Popular love of Khusrū. Sir Thomas Roe and his chaplain Terry sometimes met Khusrū when his captivity had been relaxed (about 1616) and he used to follow his father on the march under a strong guard. On one occasion Khusrū had some conversation with the ambassador, whom he questioned concerning his country and business. The prince blamed his father for not having bestowed on his guest any valuable gift, and promised Sir Thomas his prayers, all that he had to give.

'For that Prince,' Terry writes, 'he was a gentleman of a very lovely presence and fine carriage, so exceedingly beloved of the common people, that as Suetonius writes of Titus, he was *amor et delicias*, &c., the very love and delight of them; aged then about thirty-five years.'³ He was a man who contented himself with one wife, which with all love and care accompanied him in all his streights, and therefore he would never take any wife but herself, though the liberty of his religion did admit of plurality.'

After his death the beloved prince, as we learn from Mundy, was regarded as a martyred saint. On the way to his final resting-place in the Khusrū Garden near Allahabad, each spot where the bearers of his body halted was marked by a shrine, consisting of a cenotaph, surrounded by a little garden, watered and tended by a fakīr or two. His figure, shadowy though it be, is one of the most interesting and pathetic in Indian history.

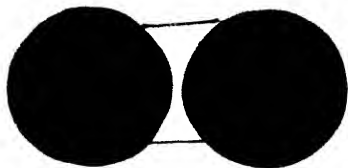
Shērāfgan. In 1607 an incident occurred which had important consequences as leading to the marriage of Jahāngīr with Nūrbahān,

¹ The date is that given by Mr. Beveridge. The detail about Mahābat Khān (Zamāna Beg) is from de Laet. Authors differ concerning the number of victims. The smallest number, namely 200, is given by Du Jarric.

² For the full story from the Sikh point of view see Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (1909), vol. iii, pp. 84-100.

³ He was younger than the chaplain supposed, having been born in August, A.D. 1587 (A.H. 995). Khāfi Khān dates his birth two years later, and may be right.

who became the power behind the throne and practically sovereign of Hindostan. The lady, whose personal name was Mihru-n nisā, was the daughter of a Persian refugee who had entered Akbar's service. She was given in marriage to Alī Kūlī, surnamed Shĕrafgan, the 'tiger-thrower', who received from Jahāngīr after his accession the *jaḡīr* of Bardwān in Bengal. For some reason or other Shĕrafgan fell under the suspicion of the emperor, who sent his own foster-brother, Kutbu-d dīn Koka, to remove Shĕrafgan and forward him to court. When Kutbu-d dīn attempted to carry out his orders an affray occurred, in the course of which both he and Shĕrafgan were killed. It is said that Jahāngīr had seen Mihru-n nisā when she resided in his father's harem before her marriage, and had then become enamoured of her. It is certain that he was deeply attached to his foster-brother. In his Memoirs, although he makes no allusion to the love-affair, he displays the most rancorous hostility to Shĕrafgan, remarking viciously that Kutbu-d dīn's men 'sent him to hell', and adding: 'It is to be hoped that the place of this black-faced scoundrel will always be there.' The lady was brought to court, and long resisted the ardent importunities of her imperial lover. At last, in 1611, more than four years after her husband's death, she yielded and consented to become Jahāngīr's chief queen. She acquired at once unbounded influence over him, and freely made use of it to advance the interests of her family. Her father, who received the title of Itimādu-d daulah, and her brother, ennobled as Āsaf Khān, became the leading personages in the court, while all her other connexions were well looked after. It is said that at first she desired to unite her daughter by Shĕrafgan with Khusrū. When that could not be done she married the girl to Jahāngīr's youngest son, Shahryār. Her earlier title of Nūrmahall, 'Light of the Palace', was soon altered to Nūrhahān, 'Light of the World', with allusion to the imperial style of Nūru-d dīn Jahāngīr. For many years she wielded the imperial power. She even gave audiences at her palace, and her name was placed on the coinage.



Coin of Jahāngīr and Nūrhahān.

Favours to the Jesuits. The temporary apparent alienation of Jahāngīr from the Jesuit Fathers, arranged as a sop to Muslim opinion, ceased in 1606 when his favours to the priests were renewed. After some difficulty they were allowed to retain their elegant and commodious (*elegans et scitum*) church at Lahore, as well as the *collegium*, or priests' residence, a comfortable building equipped with verandahs and upper and lower rooms, suitable respectively for use in the cold and hot seasons. Each department of the mission work had its appropriate and convenient accommodation as in European colleges. At Agra about twenty baptisms took place in 1606, and when Jahāngīr was on his way to Kābul

he accepted a Persian version of the Gospels and permitted the Fathers to act publicly with as much liberty as if they were in Europe. When the emperor returned to Agra he took two of the priests with him, leaving one at Lahore to look after the congregation there. Church processions with full Catholic ceremonial were allowed to parade the streets, and cash allowances were paid from the treasury for church expenses and the support of the converts. The zeal for Islām which Jahāngīr had displayed at the beginning of his reign gradually diminished, and he openly declared that he wished to follow in his father's footsteps.

Disputation. While Jahāngīr was at Agra a disputation was started by the emperor calling on the Fathers to explain certain scriptural pictures of David and other subjects. The arguments between the priests and their Muhammadan opponents lasted for more than a month with intervals, and the Jesuits were allowed to denounce Muhammad as a false prophet. When Nakīb Khan, the 'reader' and eminent historical student, who used to read histories to Akbar, grew angry at language which he regarded as blasphemous, Jahāngīr bade him keep quiet and laughed heartily. The emperor forced a Hindu courtier to express his agreement with the priests, and on hearing the declaration again burst out laughing (*ad quae effuse ridere rer*). The Jesuits naturally were delighted that the nobles were forced to do honour to Christ. But they recognized that much more effort would be needed before their purpose could be achieved. Their exertions were directed principally to the conversion of the emperor himself.

Christian pictures. Certainly his conduct gave them some reason to hope that he might be brought within the Christian fold. He showed an extraordinary fancy for pictures of religious subjects from the Old and New Testaments, the Apocrypha, and the Lives of the Saints. At Agra his throne was surrounded by paintings of John the Baptist, Saint Antony, and Saint Bernardin of Siena. On the right hand side of the window (*jharokha*) from which he gave audience was an image of Christ the Saviour, holding a globe in his hand. On the left hand was a painting of the Virgin Mary, or the 'Mother of God' (*Deiparae*) in Roman Catholic phraseology, copied from the original believed to have been the work of St. Luke. Various halls, rooms, and courts in the palace were similarly decorated. Some of the designs Jahāngīr drew with his own hand (*quas sua ipse manu delineavit*), and he arranged them personally without suggestions from other people. He selected the pictures likely to be most pleasing, and used to send his artists with instructions to follow the Fathers' hints about the colours to be used and other matters. He possessed a large painting representing the scourging of the Redeemer, which was specially offensive to the Muhammadans. His gallery also included portraits of His Holiness the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy. Jahāngīr personally explained to his court the meaning of a composition depicting the Adoration of the Magi, which had been brought from Rome to Goa by Father Joannes Alvarez, and gave directions

that the picture should be handsomely framed.¹ The emperor frequently boasted to his friends, and not without justice, that he had acquired complete knowledge of the mysteries of the Christian faith. He carried a pair of golden scissors or tongs, with a large square emerald on each point, one gem being engraved with the likeness of Christ, and the other with that of His Mother. He used those signets to stamp the outside of all official missives and letters, whether addressed to Hindus, Muhammadans, or Christians. It is no wonder that Jahāngīr was popularly reputed to have become a Christian, and that the Jesuits entertained 'good hope of his conversion'. They recognized that the practice of polygamy was one of the principal obstacles to his acceptance of the Christian faith, and tried in vain to persuade him that it was his duty to repudiate all his wives save one.

Embassy to Goa. In 1607 Jahāngīr expressed a desire, as his father had done, to send a mission to the King of Spain and the Pope, but was persuaded to restrict the embassy to visiting the Viceroy of Goa. The ambassador selected was Mukarrab Khān, an intimate friend of the emperor, a keen sportsman and skilled surgeon. In accordance with Jahāngīr's special request Father Pinheiro accompanied the ambassador as a colleague. They started from Lahore, where the court then was, in September 1607, and reached Cambay in the April following, 1608. At that time the envoys could not present their credentials at Goa, because the viceroy designate had not arrived. As a matter of fact he never arrived, and the government of Portuguese India was carried on by Archbishop de Menezes until May 27, 1609, when Don Andreas Hurtados de Mendoza took charge and held office until September 5 of that year.

Captain W. Hawkins. Meantime, Captain William Hawkins, of the ship *Hector*, had arrived at Surat on August 24, 1608, bearing a letter from James I, King of Great Britain, to Jahāngīr, asking for the grant of trade facilities. Hawkins, in spite of strenuous opposition from Father Pinheiro and the Portuguese authorities, succeeded in reaching the court of Jahāngīr, who accepted his gifts, valued at 25,000 gold pieces, and gave him a most favourable reception. Hawkins was able to converse with the emperor in Turki, without the aid of an interpreter. He was appointed to be a commander (*mansabdar*) of 400, with a salary of 30,000 rupees (which, it is said, was not paid), and was required to marry the daughter of an Armenian Christian named Mubārak Shāh (Mubariksha). He lived on intimate terms with Jahāngīr, whose deep potations he shared. Jahāngīr granted all his demands.

Portuguese hostility. When Mendoza, the new viceroy at Goa, heard that Hawkins and other Englishmen had been granted privileges infringing on the commercial monopoly claimed by

¹ Although the wall paintings mentioned all perished long ago, many small drawings and paintings of scriptural and Christian subjects survive. See *H. F. A.*, p. 464, pl. cxv. Other records exist of Christian wall paintings in various localities.

the Portuguese, he treated the imperial concession as a hostile act and considered himself to be at war with Jahāngīr, whose ambassador he refused to receive. That hasty action greatly disturbed the merchants on the coast, and alarmed Jahāngīr, who revoked his concessions to the English. Father Pinheiro, who had gone on to Goa, was then employed by the viceroy as a plenipotentiary to negotiate with Mukarrab Khān, hostilities were stopped, and English ships were refused admission at Surat. Certain Englishmen who attempted to proceed to court were intercepted, several of them being killed.

Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, who succeeded Mendosa as viceroy in September 1609, invited the ambassador to come to Goa, but Mukarrab Khān having been recalled by Jahāngīr, Father Pinheiro took his place as the accredited envoy of the Great Mogul (*Pinnerus legati munus, quod a rege suo acceperat Proregi obtulit*), a strange position for a Catholic priest.

Hawkins quitted the court in 1611, baffled by the intrigues of the Portuguese and the instability of the imperial policy. He recorded interesting notes of his experience, which have been preserved by the diligence of Purchas, and will be quoted presently in part.

Bengal and the Deccan. In 1612 the rebellion of Usmān Khān in Bengal, which had begun in Akbar's time, was at last ended by the death of the rebel leader from wounds received in a stiff fight. From the beginning of the reign hostilities in the Deccan had never wholly ceased. A feebly conducted war against the forces of the Ahmadnagar Sultanate, then administered by an able Abyssinian, named Malik Ambar, went on continually without results worthy of notice. At this period the quarrels among the imperialist generals became so acute that the Khān Khānān (Abdurrahīm), who had been recalled, was again sent to see if he could do anything effectual. But Jahāngīr never succeeded in obtaining a firm control over any campaign in the Deccan or elsewhere.

English victory at sea. The same year, 1612, was marked by the entrance of British naval forces into Indian politics. At the end of November one English ship, the *Dragon*, commanded by Captain Best, 'assisted only', as Purchas relates, 'with the *Osiander* a little ship (scarcely a ship, I had almost called her a little Pinnasse)', successfully fought a Portuguese fleet comprising four huge galleons, with five- or six-and-twenty frigates. Mr. Nathaniel Salmon commanded the tiny *Osiander* in that wonderful fight. It is not surprising to read that 'the great Mogoll, which before thought none comparable to the Portugall at Sea, much wondered at the English resolution, related to him by *Sardar Chan*'. The Mogul empire was then, as always, utterly powerless at sea; a fact which had much to do with its collapse.

War with Portuguese. About a year later (1618) the Portuguese abused their naval superiority as compared with the weakness of the Mogul government by seizing four of the imperial ships,

imprisoning many Muslims, and plundering the cargoes. The outrage naturally was 'very disagreeable' to Jahāngīr, who ordered Mukarrab Khān, then in charge of Surat, to obtain compensation. From English sources we learn that the principal ship plundered was called the *Remewe*, and that it was said to have carried 'three millions of Treasure, and two women bought for the Great Mogol'. Jahāngīr's mother had a large interest in the cargo, and lost heavily.

The Portuguese acts of piracy resulted in war with the imperial government, whose officers attacked Damān. All accessible Portuguese residing in the Mogul dominions were seized, and even Father Jerome Xavier was sent in custody to Mukarrab Khān, 'to do with him as he shall see good'. The public exercise of the Christian religion was forbidden, and the churches were closed. The Portuguese were still 'in deep disgrace with the King and people' early in 1615, when William Edwards from Surat arrived at court bearing a letter from King James I. Although he was not formally accredited as an ambassador, he was very honourably received by Jahāngīr, who perceived that the English could now be used as a counterpoise to the Portuguese. Some years earlier the emperor had questioned Hawkins about the force needed to take Diu, and was told that the place could be reduced by fourteen British ships supported by a land force of twenty thousand men.

Submission of Mewār. The inglorious war with Mewār (Udaipur), which had gone on for so many years, was ended in 1614 by the submission of Rānā Amar Singh and his son Karan to Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān), who had pressed the brave Rājput̄s until they were reduced to extremity. Jahāngīr was delighted by a success which Akbar had failed to achieve, and was willing to soften the humiliation of defeat by exceptionally courteous treatment of his gallant adversaries. After some time the emperor did special honour to them by directing artists at Ajmēr to fashion full-sized marble statues of the Rānā and his son. The commission having been executed with all speed, the statues were removed to Agra and erected in the garden below the audience-window (*jharokhā*). Unhappily those interesting works of art have disappeared. Mewār was required to contribute to the imperial army a contingent of one thousand horse, and Karan had to accept the dignity of a 'commander of 5,000'. The reigning Rānā was never compelled to attend court in person, and no Sisōdiā bride ever graced the imperial harem. With the exception of those concessions to the dignity of the premier chieftain of Rājasthān, the Rānā became as other Rājās, and officially was regarded as a mere zemindār or *jāgīrdar*.

In July of the same year, 1614, Rājā Mān Singh died in the Deccan. No less than sixty of his women committed *suttee* by fire.

Plague. Bubonic plague, a disease not previously recorded with certainty in India, appeared in the Panjāb early in 1616, at the close of Jahāngīr's tenth regnal year. The epidemic was

marked by the symptoms unhappily familiar since the disease reappeared at Bombay in 1896. Rats and mice were first affected, and the mortality was severe, especially among Hindus. The pestilence, which spread to almost every locality in northern and western India, lasted for eight years. In 1619, while it was

raging in Agra, Fathpur-Sikri, twenty-three miles distant, escaped. Historians have overlooked both this remarkable epidemic in Jahāngir's reign and another outbreak, apparently of the same disease, which occurred in the Deccan in 1703 and 1704; erroneously supposing that 'the first trustworthy information of the occurrence of plague in India dates from the year 1812', when the disease broke out in Cutch and spread to Gujarāt and Sind.¹



REV. EDW. TERRY.

Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe. The informal missions of Hawkins and Edwards, sent for the purposes of promoting the nascent trade between England and the East, and abating Portuguese pretensions, were quickly followed by the formal embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, the duly accredited ambassador from James I to Jahāngir. The envoy, a gentleman of good education, a polished

courtier, and trained diplomatist, was well qualified for the task assigned to him, which was the negotiation of a treaty giving security to English trade. Roe arrived at Surat, or rather Swally Road, in September 1615, and marched up country as soon as practicable to the court of Jahāngir, then at Ajmer. The chaplain whom he had brought out with him having died almost immediately, the ambassador summoned from Surat to take his place a young

¹ I. G. (1907), iv. 475. For the plague in the Deccan see *Storia do Mogor*, iv. 97.

English clergyman named Edward Terry, who happened to have come out on his own account as a curious traveller. The world is indebted to Terry for an account of his experiences, which is far superior to that of Roe as a description of the country and government. The chaplain was a good observer and extraordinarily sympathetic in his attitude towards the natives of India, whether Hindu or Muhammadan. He did not publish his narrative for more than thirty years after his return to England, and then unfortunately thought fit to pad it so thickly with moralizings that the modern reader becomes wearied and is apt to undervalue a really admirable book. Roe's *Journal* is chiefly useful as a faithful record of the manner in which business was done at a court saturated with intrigue, treachery, and corruption. Jahāngīr, half fuddled with strong drink and opium, had not the strength of will to resist the wiles of his designing queen, her equally unscrupulous brother, Āsaf Khān, and the deep villany of Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān). The ambassador's pen-picture of that prince is memorable.

'I never saw', he writes, 'so settled a countenance, nor any man keep so constant a gravity, never smiling, nor in face showing any respect or difference of men; but mingled with extreme pride and contempt of all, yet I found some inward trouble now and then assail him, and a kind of brokenness and distraction in his thoughts, unprovidedly and amazedly answering suitors, or not hearing.'



JAHĀNGĪR.

Roe proceeds to give a scandalous but not necessarily incredible explanation. At the Mogul court no suggestion of alleged wickedness can be summarily rejected as incredible.

'If I can judge anything,' the ambassador comments, 'he hath left his heart among his father's women, with whom he hath liberty of conversation. Nūrmahall in the English coach the day before visited him, and took leave, she gave him a cloak all embroidered with pearl, diamonds, and rubies, and carried away, if I err not, his attention to all other business.'¹

Princes Khusrū and Khurram. Roe confirms his chaplain's testimony to the virtues and popularity of Prince Khusrū, whose life even then was unceasingly threatened by his brother, Prince Khurram, with the privity of Nūrjahān and Āsaf Khān. The

¹ The spelling has been modernized, but the old punctuation retained. Shāhjahān (Khurram) was then, in 1616, twenty-four years of age; and four years earlier, in 1612, had been married to Mumtāz Mahall, then aged nineteen, who was the daughter of Āsaf Khān, Nūrmahall's elder brother. Nūrmahall or Nūrjahān was born in Kandahār before her father came to India in 1591, and must have been about forty years of age in 1616. She died in 1645, aged about seventy. Roe had brought out an English coach, of which Jahāngīr's workmen made copies.

ambassador, who was in a good position for learning the facts, records that

'Sultan Khusrū, the eldest brother, is both extremely beloved, and honoured of all men (almost adored) and very justly for his noble parts'.

In another passage he amplifies his judgement by saying :

'If Sultan Khusrū prevail in his right, this kingdom will be a sanctuary for Christians, whom he loves and honours, favouring learning, valour, the discipline of war, and abhorring all covetousness, and discerning the base customs of taking, used by his ancestors and the nobility. If the other win, we shall be losers ; for he is most earnest in his superstition, a hater of all Christians, proud, subtle, false, and barbarously tyrannous.'

The event proved the correctness of the shrewd ambassador's prediction, as well as the soundness of his estimate of Shāhjahān's character, which has been so grievously misunderstood by modern historians. Jahāngīr, unfortunately, considered Shāhjahān to be 'the first of his sons', until he rebelled. After that the emperor could not find language adequate to express his dislike for the former favourite.

Roe went home in 1619. Although he had failed to obtain the formal treaty desired, he secured considerable concessions to his countrymen and laid a solid foundation for the East India Company's trade.

The Deccan war. The aggressive war in the Deccan, where the principal opponent of the imperialists was Malik Ambar, the able Abyssinian minister at Ahmadnagar, dragged on throughout the reign. No decisive result ever was obtained, and good reason existed for believing that Abdurrahīm, the Khān Khānān, was in collusion with Malik Ambar. In 1616 the fort at Ahmadnagar was surrendered, and Prince Khurram was allowed to obtain a show of success. He was extravagantly rewarded with the title of Shāhjahān, and the enormous emoluments attached to the command (*mansab*) of '30,000 personal, with 20,000 horse'. Malik Ambar lived until 1626, when he died at an advanced age.

Surrender of Kāngra. The most notable military achievement of Jahāngīr's inglorious reign was the surrender to his authority in November 1620, of the strong fortress of Kāngra, which had defied even Akbar. Jahāngīr was extremely proud because an officer of his had been able to reduce a stronghold which had baffled his father. A little later the emperor visited the conquest, and gratified the sentiment of the Muhammadans, while outraging that of the Hindus, by erecting a mosque and slaughtering a bullock within the precincts of the fort. Jahāngīr, who was a sceptic without any personal hostility to Hinduism, at times found it expedient to prove by some overt act that he must be still deemed officially a follower of the Prophet.

Murder of Prince Khusrū. The 'tragical end' of the 'troublesome life' of Prince Khusrū came in January 1622. Nearly six years earlier, in 1616, Jahāngīr, for reasons not stated, had transferred his son from the custody of a faithful Hindu named Anī

Rāi to that of Āsaf Khān, the mortal enemy of the prince. Later, in or about 1620, the prisoner was made over to his brother, Prince Khurram, at the instigation of Āsaf Khān and Nūrhān. The inevitable result followed in the beginning of 1622, when an assassin named Razā Bahādūr strangled the captive by order of his brother. Jahāngīr records his son's death without comment or expression of regret, merely stating that 'a report came from Khurram that Khusrū, on the 8th (? 20th) of the month, had died of the disease of colic pains (*kulanj*) and gone to the mercy of God'. There is no doubt that the prisoner was murdered. Details are given by Mundy from common report, but the most particular account is that given in de Laet's book, which in substance is as follows :

Shāhjahān, then residing at Burhānpur, sought to remove his brother without scandal. Having arranged a plan with the connivance of the Khān Khānān and other nobles, he went off on a hunting expedition so as to be out of the way. Razā, the slave appointed to the duty, knocked at the prince's door at an unseasonable hour of the night, pretending to have brought robes of honour and written orders for liberation from the emperor. When the prince refused to open his door it was forced, and he was strangled. The door was then closed and the body was left as it lay. His faithful and dearly loved wife, when she found him in the morning, raised a terrible outcry. Shāhjahān sent off a false report, carefully attested by the signatures of his courtiers, but Nūru-d dīn Kulī gave the emperor correct information. Jahāngīr professed to feel intense sorrow, although he must have known what would happen when he made over Khusrū to the charge of his avowed enemy who had sought for years to destroy him. Probably the emperor had yielded unwillingly to the advice of Nūrhān, whose will was his law. His weakness, however, does not absolve him from responsibility.

Loss of Kandahār. In June of the same year, 1622, Shāh Abbās, the energetic King of Persia, retook Kandahār. He had tried without success to induce Jahāngīr to give up the place voluntarily. When diplomacy failed he took it by force without much trouble. Jahāngīr, who was grievously perturbed by the loss, planned a great expedition for the recovery of the town, and desired his son Shāhjahān to take the command. But at the time the emperor was in bad health, and Shāhjahān was determined not to imperil his succession to the throne by absence on the Persian frontier.

Rebellion of Shāhjahān. Instead of obeying his father's orders he went into open rebellion. Prince Shahryār was then appointed to take charge of the Kandahār expedition, but nothing came of the appointment, all the energies of the government being devoted to the suppression of the rebellion. A plan to bring from Agra to Lahore the whole of the immense treasure in gold and silver coin accumulated from the beginning of Akbar's reign was dropped when Shāhjahān gave indications that he intended to intercept the convoy. It is impossible to refuse some sympathy

to the outraged father when he laments the ingratitude of the once best-beloved son, and moans :

‘What shall I say of my own sufferings ? In pain and weakness, in a warm atmosphere that is extremely unsuited to my health, I must still ride and be active, and in this state must proceed against such an undutiful son.’

But he thanks ‘God that has given me such capacity to bear my burdens’. He lamented more especially that the rebel had compelled the postponement of the recovery of Kandahār, and thus had ‘struck with an axe the foot of his own dominion, and become a stumbling-block in the path of the enterprise’. Several nobles were executed for high treason, and Sultan Parvīz, Shāhjahān’s elder brother, was summoned to take his proper place at his father’s side as heir apparent. Jahāngīr was justly disgusted because Abdurrahīm, the Khān Khānān, an old man of seventy, and loaded with marks of imperial favour, had joined the traitors.

A battle fought at Balōchpur, to the south of Delhi, resulted in the death of the Brahman named Sundar, on whom Shāhjahān chiefly relied, and in the consequent defeat of the rebel army (1623). Shāhjahān was driven through Mālwa into the Deccan, and thence across Telingāna into Bengal, which province, with Bihār, he occupied. Another defeat sent the rebel back to the Deccan, where he tried to make friends with his old enemy Malik Ambar and the other rulers of the south. In 1625 a sort of peace was patched up between the prince and his father. Shāhjahān surrendered Rohtās and Asīrgarh, and sent his two elder sons, Dārā Shikoh and Aurangzēb, to court as hostages. But he never appeared there in person, remaining absent in Rājputāna or the Deccan.

Mahābat Khān. In the year following, 1626, strange events occurred. Mahābat Khān, who had become one of the principal personages in the empire, and had taken an active part in the pursuit of Shāhjahān, found himself in danger of destruction owing to the hostility of Nūrbahān. Jahāngīr and his consort were encamped on the Jhelum on their way to Kābul, and were about to cross the river with the rear-guard when Mahābat Khān surrounded the imperial tents with his Rājput horsemen, and captured the emperor. Nūrbahān was not detained, and was allowed to pass over the river. Her attempts to recover her husband by force having failed, she managed by stratagem to effect her purpose at Kābul. Mahābat Khān was then obliged to fly and join Shāhjahān, who was hard pressed, and thinking of escape to Persia. But he was encouraged by the death in October at Burhānpur of his brother, Parvīz, the only serious rival for the succession to the throne. Parvīz was officially supposed to have died from the effects of drink, but the general belief at the time that he was poisoned by his brother was well founded.¹ Hardly anything is on record

¹ Long afterwards Aurangzēb in a letter accused his father of the murder of both his brothers : ‘How do you still regard the memory of [your brothers] Khusrau and Parvīz, whom you did to death before your accession and who had threatened no injury to you ?’ (Sarkar, *Hist.*, vol. iii, p. 155).

concerning the personal qualities of Parvīz beyond the fact that he drank too much.

Death of Jahāngīr. Jahāngīr, who had been ailing for several years, died after a short illness while encamped at Chingiz Hatlī, a village near Bhimbhar at the foot of the hills on the road to Kashmir, from which he was returning. His death occurred in October 1627, but his successor Shāhjahān was not able to take his seat on the throne until the following February, for the reasons which will be explained in the next chapter.

His personality. As appears from the foregoing narrative, the prominent public events of Jahāngīr's reign were few. The loss of Kandahār was not balanced by any substantial increase of territory elsewhere, and there can be no doubt that the empire was weaker as a military power in 1627 than it was when Akbar died in 1605. The administration generally was conducted on the lines laid down by Akbar, and the reign of Jahāngīr may be regarded as a continuation of that of his father, marked by a certain amount of deterioration due to Jahāngīr's personal inferiority when compared with his illustrious parent. His considerable natural abilities were marred by habitual and excessive intemperance, which added artificial ferocity to his innate violent temper. When angry, and especially if the security of his throne was threatened, he was capable of the most fiendish cruelty, taking a horrid delight in seeing men flayed alive, impaled, torn to pieces by elephants, or otherwise tortured to death. Hawkins and Roe were much disgusted by such savagery. Mere passionate caprice, even when no question of treason arose, sometimes induced him to commit shocking barbarities. For instance, he relates without shame the following anecdote :

'On the 22nd, when I had got within shot of a nilgaw, suddenly a groom and two bearers appeared, and the nilgaw escaped. In a great rage I ordered them to kill the groom on the spot, and to hamstring the bearers and mount them on asses and parade them through the camp, so that no one should again have the boldness to do such a thing.

After this I mounted a horse and continued hunting with hawks and falcons, and came to the halting place.'

Many other sickening instances of his brutality will be found recorded in the pages of Roe, Terry, and other writers.

Jahāngīr's authentic *Memoirs*, either written by his own hand or dictated to a scribe, cover nineteen years of his reign and offer a wonderfully life-like picture of a typical Asiatic despot, a strange compound of tenderness and cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and brutality, good sense and childishness. Terry truly observes :

'Now for the disposition of that King, it ever seemed unto me to be composed of extremes : for sometimes he was barbarously cruel, and at other times he would seem to be exceeding fair and gentle.'

He was capable of feeling the most poignant grief for the loss of a grandchild, and often showed pleasure in doing little acts of

kindly charity. His writings are full of keen observations on natural objects. He went to Kashmīr nearly every hot season, and recorded a capital description of the country, carefully drawing up a list of the Indian birds and beasts not to be found in the Happy Valley. He loved fine scenery, and would go into ecstasies over a waterfall. He thought the scarlet blossom of the *dhak* or *palās* tree 'so beautiful that one cannot take one's eyes off it', and was in raptures over the wild flowers of Kashmīr.

He was a skilled connoisseur in the arts of drawing and painting, and a generous patron of artists. He had himself some skill with the brush, and drew parts of the decorative designs on the walls of the palace at Agra. He appreciated music and song, and had nice taste in architecture. The unique design of Akbar's tomb was prepared in accordance with his ideas.

Jahāngīr prided himself especially on his love of justice, and his reputation for that quality still endures in India. When recording the capital sentence passed by himself on an influential murderer, he remarks :

'God forbid that in such affairs I should consider princes, and far less that I should consider Amirs.'

The fearful penalties which he inflicted were imposed without respect of persons.

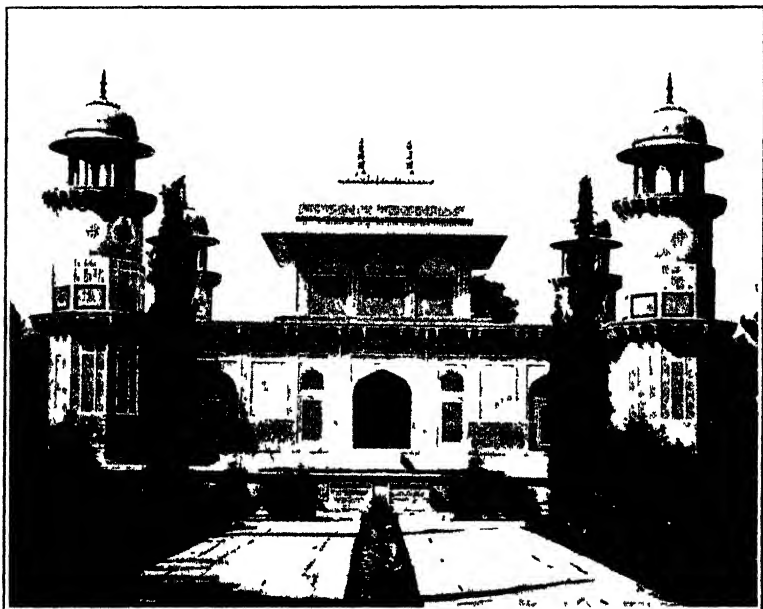
Religion. His religion is not easy to define. Grave Sir Thomas Roe roundly denounced him as an atheist, but he was not exactly that. He sincerely believed in God, although he did not frankly accept any particular revelation or subscribe to any definite creed. The mocking laughter with which he received denunciations of Muhammad as a false prophet is conclusive proof that he was not at heart a Muslim. The strange partiality which he showed for Christian images and ritual, and his intimacy with the Jesuit priests, did not induce him to accept the doctrines of the Church. Probably his favour to the priests was accorded chiefly from political motives, in order to secure Portuguese support and trade. The moment hostilities with Goa began the Christian churches were closed. He had not the slightest desire to persecute anybody on account of his religion. It is true that he passed severe orders against the Jains of Gujarāt, whom his father had so greatly admired, but that was because for some reason or other he considered them to be seditious.

While he loved talking to philosophical ascetics, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, he did not imitate his father in adopting Hindu practices, nor did he follow Zoroastrian rites. His personal religion seems to have been a vague deism, either that taught by heretical Muhammadan Sūfis, or the very similar doctrine of certain Hindu sages. Ordinary Hinduism he spoke of as a 'worthless religion'. Jahāngīr, like his contemporaries, James I of England and Shāh Abbās of Persia, believed tobacco to be a noxious drug and forbade its use.

The material for discourse on Jahāngīr's interesting personality is so abundant that it would be easy to write at large on the

subject. The reader perhaps will find what has been said more than enough.

The court. The court ceremonial was much the same as in the days of Akbar. Jahāngīr showed himself publicly three times a day. At sunrise he appeared on a balcony facing east, at noon on one facing south, and a little before sunset at a third facing west. On each occasion he received petitions and dispensed justice as he conceived it. Other state business was transacted



TOMB OF ITIMĀDU-D DAULA, AGRA.

chiefly between seven and nine o'clock in the evening in the private audience-hall, known as the *Ghusl-khāna* or 'bath-room', to which only privileged persons were admitted. Roe and Terry frequently attended such audiences. Before the evening had passed Jahāngīr often was dead drunk. Many anecdotes about his intemperance are on record.

The New Year festivities after the Persian manner, and the formal weighings of the sovereign against gold and other precious things on his birthday, calculated according to both the solar and the lunar calendars, were duly observed.

The selfish luxury and ostentation of the court and nobles had increased since Akbar's time, and constituted a terrible drain on

the resources of the country. The pay of the higher officials was scandalously extravagant, even if allowance be made for certain deductions. Hawkins, who received the comparatively small post of a 'commander of 400', had a salary of 30,000 rupees a year, then worth more than 3,000 pounds sterling. Jahāngīr when pensioning an old servant of moderate rank gave him an allowance of 4,000 rupees a month or about £5,000 a year. The salary of a modern Viceroy is a mere pittance when compared with the sums paid to the greater nobles. No money to speak of was spent on useful public works or on education. All considerable expenditure was designed for the glory of the sovereign or his chief courtiers.

The administration was not good. Every governor could do much as he pleased, and ruthless severity was relied on for the repression of crime. Space fails to recount particulars.

Literature and art. Literature, chiefly in the Persian language, was encouraged. Jahāngīr himself could write sufficiently well. In addition to his *Memoirs* several historical works of some merit were composed, and he gave his patronage to the completion of a valuable dictionary entitled the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*. Art, as already mentioned, really interested Jahāngīr. His book is full of references to the subject, which it would be desirable to collect and discuss. The two most eminent painters of the reign were Abu-l Hasan, honoured with the title of Nādiru-z zamān, 'Wonder of the Age', and Ustād, or Master, Mansūr, who bore a synonymous title. The extant works of both those artists justify the enthusiastic praise bestowed upon them by their employer. The tomb of Itimād-ud daulah at Agra, the mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandara, and Jahāngīr's own sepulchre at Lahore testify to the good taste of the emperor and the skill of his architects.

CHRONOLOGY (o. s.)

Death of Akbar	Oct. 17, 1605
Enthronement of Jahāngīr	Oct. 24, 1605
Rebellion of Khusrū	Sunday, April 6, 1606
Capture of Khusrū	Sunday, April 27, 1606
Embassy to Goa	1607-9
Hawkins at court	1608-11
Marriage with Nūrjahān	May 1611
End of Usmān Khān's rebellion in Bengal	1612
Capture of four ships by Portuguese of Goa	1613
Submission of Rānā Amar Singh and Karan	1614
Sir Thomas Roe's embassy	1615-18
Bubonic plague begun (lasted eight years)	1616
Conquest of Kāngra	Nov. 1620
Death of Khusrū	Jan. 1622
Loss of Kandahār to the Persians	June 1622
Rebellion of Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān)	1622
Shāhjahān defeated and put to flight	1623, 1624
Submission of Shāhjahān	1625

Mahābat Khan seized Jahāngir	1626
Death of Sultan Parvīz	Oct. 1626
Death of Jahāngir	Oct. 28, 1627

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CHAPTER 5

Shāhjahān and the War of Succession; Climax of the Mogul Empire.

Disputed succession; executions. In October 1627, when Jahāngir died on his way down from Kashmīr, two of his sons survived him. Prince Khurram or Shāhjahān, the elder, was then far away in the Deccan and could not arrive in Hindostan for many weeks. Prince Shahryār, the younger son, who was available at head-quarters, probably at Agra, thus possessed an advantage as against his rival. Both the princes claimed the throne, and neither had any thought of yielding to the other. Shahryār, who was married to the daughter of Nūrjahān by her first husband, Shērafgan, hurried off to Lahore to join his mother-in-law; and assumed imperial rank. Shāhjahān was married to Mumtāz Mahal, daughter of Nūrjahān's brother, Āsaf Khān, who desired his

son-in-law to succeed. In order to effect that purpose Āsaf Khān secured possession of Shāhjahān's young sons, and set up, much against his will, the unfortunate Prince Khusrū's son, Dāwar Baksh nicknamed Bulākī, as a stop-gap Pādshāh, until Shāhjahān could arrive. He was, in fact, as the chronicler observes, 'a mere sacrificial lamb'. Shahryār, whose lack of brains had earned for him the contemptuous sobriquet of Nā-shudanī, or 'Good-for-nothing', was incapable of contending against Āsaf Khān, and was promptly blinded. Shāhjahān, a man of a different kind, able and ruthless, hurrying up from Junnār in the Deccan with all possible speed, sent orders for the execution of all his male collateral relatives. The atrocious instructions were carried out thoroughly, except that the titular emperor, Dāwar Baksh, was permitted to escape to Persia, where he lived as a pensioner of the Shāh. All the other male relatives were killed, one way or another. Authors differ concerning the names and number of the victims and the manner of their deaths, because the business was done secretly, and the exact truth was never disclosed. No doubt exists as to the wholesale character of the executions, which were carried out pitilessly, and, as Tavernier has justly remarked, have 'much tarnished' the memory of Shāhjahān, who does not deserve pity on account of the fate which overtook him with tardy steps.

Rebellions of Khān Jahān Lodī and Bundēlas. Early in February 1628 Shāhjahān solemnly took his seat on the throne at Agra, having previously been proclaimed at Lahore. The drastic removal of all possible claimants secured him undisputed authority for thirty years, during which period his right to reign was never seriously challenged. The rebellions which disturbed the early years of his rule did not imperil his position, and were suppressed without excessive difficulty. In the first year of the reign the turbulent Bundēla clan of Rājputs occupying Bundēl-khand, the difficult hilly country to the south of the Jumna, revolted under the leadership of Jhujhār Singh, the son of Jahāngīr's criminal favourite, Rājā Bīr Singh. The rebel, who submitted for a time, broke out again later, and was killed by the Gonds in the eighth year of the reign, after enduring a long chase by the imperial forces.

In the second year of the reign a noble named Khān Jahān Lodī, carrying out the traditional hostility of the Afghan chiefs to the Mogul dynasty, allied himself with the Sultan of Ahmadnagar (Nizāmu-l Mulk), and went into rebellion. After an interval of submission Khān Jahān once more defied the imperial authority. In the fourth year he was defeated and killed.

The peacock throne. Shāhjahān, who had a passion for the collection of jewels, and took extraordinary pleasure in the display of costly magnificence at court, never lacked the funds needed to gratify his expensive fancies. The wealth of Akbar, the richest sovereign of his age, was far exceeded by the gigantic treasures of his grandson, who kept his principal hoard at Agra, in two great

underground strong-rooms, one for gold and the other for silver, each seventy feet square and thirty feet high. Immediately after his formal enthronement in 1628 he determined to glorify himself by the construction of a throne more splendid and costly than that of any other monarch. The enormous stores of the imperial jewel-house were increased by extensive purchases of rare gems, and the combined accumulation was devoted to the decoration of the celebrated peacock throne, constructed under the superintendence of Bēbadal Khān in the course of seven years (1628–35). The throne was in the form of a cot bedstead on golden legs. The enamelled canopy was supported by twelve emerald pillars, each of which bore two peacocks encrusted with gems. A tree covered with diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and pearls stood between the birds of each pair. The gorgeous structure, which cost at least a hundred lakhs or ten millions of rupees, equivalent then to a million and a quarter of pounds sterling, continued in use until 1739, when it was carried off to Persia by Nādir Shāh. Some estimates put the cost at a very much higher figure. The work was a senseless exhibition of barbaric ostentation, and almost devoid of artistic merit. Six other thrones existed, one being an oval structure, like a bath-tub, seven feet long and five broad, without a canopy.¹

Famine of 1630–2. The prodigal expenditure and unexampled splendour of the court, which occupy so prominent a place in most of the current descriptions of Shāhjahān's rule, had a dark background of suffering and misery seldom exposed to view. In the fourth and fifth years of the reign (1630–2), while the emperor usually was encamped at Burhānpur in Khāndēsh, intent on his aggressive schemes directed against the Sultans of the Deccan, an appalling famine of the utmost possible severity desolated the Deccan and Gujarāt. The official historian, Abdu-l Hamīd, contrary to the frequent practice of writers of his kind, makes no attempt to disguise the horror of the calamity, which he describes in a few phrases of painful vividness.

‘The inhabitants of these two countries [the Deccan and Gujarāt] were reduced to the direst extremity. Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy; rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it. . . . For a long time dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh, and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. When this was discovered, the sellers were brought to justice. Destitution at last reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The numbers of the dying caused obstructions on the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and who retained the power to move wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries. Those lands which had been famous for their fertility and plenty now retained no trace of productiveness.’

¹ It is impossible to reconcile the measurement and cost of the peacock throne as stated by Tavernier (i. 381–4) with the figures of Abdu-l Hamīd Lāhorī (*E. & D.*, vii. 46). The descriptions by Tavernier, Bernier, and Abdu-l Hamīd all differ.

The details of the horrible picture are set out even more fully in the plain, unadorned notes kept by an English traveller, Peter Mundy, a merchant, who journeyed on business from Surat to Agra and Patna and back again while the famine and consequent pestilence were raging. At Surat the sickness was so deadly that out of twenty-one English traders seventeen died. For a large part of the way between Surat and Burhānpur the ground was strewn with corpses so thickly that Mundy could hardly find room to pitch a small tent. In towns the dead were dragged 'out by the heels, stark naked, of all ages and sexes, and there are left, so that the way is half barred up'. Meantime, the camp of Shāhjahān at Burhānpur was filled with provisions of all kinds.

So far as Mundy saw nothing to help the suffering people was done by the government, but the author of the *Bādshāh-nāmah* states that the emperor opened a few soup-kitchens, gave a lakh and a half of rupees in charity spread over a period of twenty weeks, and remitted one-eleventh of the assessment of land revenue. The remissions so made by 'the wise and generous Emperor' in the crown lands amounted to seventy lakhs. The holders of *jāgīrs* and official commands were expected to make similar reductions. The facts do not justify the historian's praise of the 'gracious kindness and bounty' of Shāhjahān. The remission of one-eleventh of the land revenue implies that attempts were made to collect ten-elevenths, a burden which could not be borne by a country reduced to 'the direst extremity', and retaining 'no trace of productiveness'. We are not told how far the efforts to collect the revenue succeeded; and as usual are left in the dark concerning the after effects of the famine. No statistics are on record. Even the nature of the consequent pestilence is not mentioned, but it is almost certain that cholera must have carried off myriads of victims. Sir Richard Temple, the editor of Mundy's work, has good reason for saying that 'it is worth while to read Mundy's unimpassioned, matter-of-fact observations on this famine' in order to realize the immensity of the difference in the conditions of life as existing under the rule of the Mogul dynasty when at the height of its glory and those prevailing under the modern British government.¹

Life and death of Mumtāz Mahall. The marriage of Shāhjahān to the lady named Arjumand Bāno Bēgam, and entitled Nawāb Aliyā Bēgam, or alternatively Mumtāz Mahall, 'the ornament of the palace', has been mentioned as having been the main reason determining the adhesion of her father Āsaf Khān, the richest and most powerful noble in the empire, to the cause of Shāhjahān and his consequent opposition to his sister the dowager empress Nūrbahān, the widow of Jahāngīr and mother-in-law of Prince Shahryār. The marriage, which had taken place in the year 1612, when Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān) was twenty years of age, had been successful to a degree rare in polygamous households. The prince had had two children born to him by an

¹ The famine extended to Persia and many parts of India.

earlier consort. His remaining children, fourteen in number, eight sons and six daughters, were all borne to him by Mumtāz Mahall between the years 1613 and 1631. Husband and wife were devotedly attached to each other, and during her lifetime nothing is heard of the scandalous licentiousness which dishonoured Shāhjahān's later years. All the four sons who contested the throne in 1658 were her offspring, as were the two daughters, Jahānārā and Roshan Rāi (Roshanārā), who respectively supported the causes of Dārā Shikoh and Aurangzēb.

In June 1631 Mumtāz Mahall died in childbirth at Burhānpur, at the age of thirty-nine. Her body was interred there temporarily, and after six months, when her mourning husband quitted the Deccan, was transferred to Agra, where it was placed in a provisional sepulchre in the gardens of the Tāj, the unrivalled monument to her memory, which Shāhjahān began in 1632.

Little is known of the personal character of Mumtāz Mahall. She must have possessed uncommon charm to be able to secure for so many years her husband's errant affections, and to merit a memorial such as no other lady in the world has ever won. She appears to have been a devout Muslim, as most of the ladies of the imperial family were.

Her name is associated with the severe persecution of Christians which began in 1632, the year after her death, and lasted for about three years until 1635. The operations, which developed into a cruel anti-Christian persecution, began as a justifiable and legitimate war against the Portuguese settlers at Hūgli (Hooghly) in Bengal, who had committed many offences against the peace of the empire, and deserved chastisement for reasons unconcerned with religion.

The Portuguese at Hūgli. Portuguese traders, who had settled on the river bank a short distance above Sātgaon in Bengal in or about 1579, under the protection of an imperial *farmān*, had gradually strengthened their position by the erection of substantial buildings, so that the trade migrated from Sātgaon to the new port, which became known by the name of Hūgli (Hooghly).¹ If the intruders had confined their energies to the business of trade they might, perhaps, have remained undisturbed, in spite of the injury which they inflicted on the provincial customs revenue. They maintained a custom house of their own, and were specially strict in enforcing the levy of duty on tobacco, which had become an important article of trade since its introduction at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Mogul officers were so little skilled either in sieges or in naval matters that they would have been disposed to submit to the loss of revenue rather than fight the foreigners, who were well armed and expert in the management of ships. But the arrogant Portuguese were not

¹ The name, which is spelt in old records as Ogolim, &c., probably is a corruption of *O golim* or *goli*, meaning 'the godown' or 'storehouse'. *O* is the Portuguese definite article (Hosten, in *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. x (1915), pp. 89-91).

content to make money quietly as merchants. They engaged in a cruel slave trade and habitually seized orphan children, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, whom they brought up as Christians. They were rash enough even to offend Mumtāz Mahall by detaining two slave girls whom she claimed.¹ The misdoings of the Portuguese had been brought to the notice of Shāhjahān before his accession. After the establishment of his throne he appointed Kāsim Khān as governor of Bengal, with instructions to exterminate the foreigners. The necessary preparations, which began in A. D. 1631 (A. H. 1040), were continued in the following year.

Siege and capture of Hūglī, 1632. The siege of Hūglī, begun on June 24, 1632, ended three months later in the capture of the place. The town, often described erroneously as a fortress,

'was situated on an open plain along the banks of the Ganges, and was exposed on all sides. It had neither wall nor rampart, but only an earthen embankment which they had thrown up, a thing of little value and still lesser strength.'

The governor of Bengal was so much afraid of European skill in gunnery and the management of ships that he collected a huge army, said to number 150,000, for the attack on the weak settlement. The Portuguese soldiers consisted of only 300 white men, with 600 or 700 native Christians. The tiny garrison held out for exactly three months until September 24, when the inhabitants embarked to go down the river. Most of the ships were lost, but a few reached Saugor Island, where a pestilence destroyed a large proportion of the survivors. In the opinion of the learned Jesuit historian, 'the defence of Calcutta in 1756 dwindles into insignificance before the feats of prowess achieved by the Portuguese of Hugli.' Multitudes were slain in the course of the siege. According to the *Bādshāh-nānah* :

'From the beginning of the siege to the conclusion, men and women, old and young, altogether nearly 10,000 of the enemy were killed, being either blown up with powder, drowned in water or burnt by fire.'

The imperialists had nearly a thousand fatal casualties. More than 4,000 prisoners were taken and brought to Agra, where they were offered the choice between conversion to Islām, and confinement or slavery under the most severe conditions. Comparatively few cared to save their bodies at the cost of their souls. The majority courageously faced torture and ill-treatment of every kind. 'So it came to pass', as the Muslim historian ferociously remarks, 'that many of them passed from prison to hell. Such of their idols as were likenesses of the prophets were thrown into the Jumna, the rest were broken to pieces.' 'The misery of these people', Bernier writes, 'is unparalleled in modern times.' The fierce persecution of Christians as such lasted until December 1635, after which date it gradually died down. Some of the Portuguese were allowed to reoccupy Hūglī, but the town never

¹ 'Filles', not 'daughters', as sometimes erroneously translated.

recovered its former prosperity. The misdoings of the piratical settlers met with a punishment so terrible that the feeling of compassion for their sufferings outweighs the righteous indignation directed against them for their abuse of power while they were strong.

The detailed story is best told by the Spanish friar, Manrique, whose text is not yet fully accessible in English.

The large numbers of killed and prisoners are explained by the Portuguese practice of forcing everybody under their control to adopt Christianity. The armed defenders, as already mentioned, seem to have been very few. The action of Shāhjahān quenched the hopes for the conversion of the royal family and Mogul India which had been encouraged by the proceedings of Akbar and Jahāngīr. Mumtāz Mahall's powerful brother, Āsaf Khān, did his best to shelter the Christians from the fury of the emperor.¹ Both Geronimo Veronco, the reputed architect of the Tāj, and a wealthy Armenian who enjoyed high favour at court, spent large sums in ransoming miserable prisoners.

Destruction of Hindu temples. The excessive Muslim zeal which induced Shāhjahān to undertake a distinct persecution of Christians as such, in continuation of his legitimate warfare against the slave-raiders of Hügli, prompted him in the same year (1632) to take severe action against his Hindu subjects, who, like the Christians, had ordinarily, although not invariably, experienced at the hands of Jahāngīr the same toleration which they had enjoyed in Akbar's reign. Jahāngīr had raised no objection to the erection of new temples, which is opposed to strict Muhammadan law. Shāhjahān now resolved to put a stop to the practice, and gave orders that

'at Benares, and throughout all his dominions in every place, all temples that had been begun should be cast down. It was now reported from the province of Allahabad that seventy-six temples had been destroyed in the district of Benares.'

No record of the destruction in other parts of the empire has been preserved, but it must have been considerable.

Shāhjahān's Deccan policy. Shāhjahān, as has been seen, was engaged in the prosecution of operations for the annexation of the Deccan sultanates of Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, and Bījāpur in the year 1631, when the famine occurred and his wife died. He then returned to Agra. It will be convenient to give in this place a connected summary view of the imperial plans and military operations in the Deccan during the earlier part of Shāhjahān's reign.

The policy of Akbar, who avowedly aimed at the subjugation of all the kingdoms of the Deccan, had so much success that the entire kingdom of Khāndēsh and a small portion of that of Ahmadnagar proper, as well as Berar, then a dependency of Ahmadnagar, were absorbed into the imperial dominions during the years 1600

¹ See Hosten, op. cit., especially pp. 43-5, 51, 81, 94, 99.

to 1605. The revolt of Prince Salīm, the deaths of his brothers, and the decease of the emperor himself in October 1605 prevented Akbar from pursuing his ambitious schemes any farther. Ahmadnagar, although formally constituted a separate *sūba* or province, actually came under the imperial rule only to a small extent. An able Abyssinian minister, Malik Ambar, succeeded in retaining or recovering the greater part of the kingdom, which was ruled in the name of a new sultan. Both Golkonda and Bijāpur continued to enjoy real independence, and had obtained large accessions of territory after the fall of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar in 1565. Jahāngir, while cherishing the same ideal as Akbar, made no considerable progress in the task of the subjugation of the Deccan. Shāhjahān, who was stationed there at the time of his father's death in 1627, resumed the family designs of conquest as soon as possible after his accession, and did a good deal to realize them.

Early operations. In A. D. 1630 the imperialists were compelled to raise the siege of Parēndā, a strong fortress belonging to Ahmadnagar. In the same year Fath Khān, the minister of Ahmadnagar, and son of Malik Ambar, who had died at an advanced age in 1626, entered into communication with the imperial government and informed Shāhjahān that in order to protect himself he had seized and confined his own sovereign, the Nizām Shāhī. The emperor replied by instructions to kill the captive. Fath Khān complied, and placed on the throne a boy of the royal family, named Husain Shāh. Shāhjahān, regarding Muhammad Adil Khān, Sultan of Bijāpur, as contumacious because he desired to retain his independence, directed Asaf Khān to require his submission, and, in the event of non-compliance, to conquer as much territory as possible and to lay the rest waste. In 1631 the imperial forces besieged Bijāpur, but were compelled to withdraw owing to want of supplies, the country-side having been laid waste, partly by the Bijāpurīs in self-defence, and partly by the invaders.

'On whatever road they went they killed and made prisoners, and ravaged and laid waste on both sides. From the time of their entering the territories to the time of their departure they kept up this devastation and plunder. The best part of the country was trodden under.'

That merciless warfare was not provoked by the government or people of Bijāpur. It was ordered deliberately with the sole purpose of gratifying the emperor's ambition and lust for riches.

End of the Ahmadnagar kingdom. Shāhjahān, on the completion of his savage operations, returned to Agra, where he occupied himself with the planning and building of the Tāj. He appointed Mahābat Khān, Khān Khānān, to be viceroy of Khān-dēsh and the Deccan.

Malik Ambar's son, Fath Khān, proved as faithless to Shāhjahān as he had been to his own sovereign. In 1631 he defended against the imperial forces the fortress of Daulatābād (Dēogiri), which his father had fortified. But the explosion of a mine, and the payment by the Khān Khānān of a bribe of ten and a half lakhs

of rupees, were sufficient inducements to make him surrender. The fortress, which the besiegers were quite unable to take by fair fighting, was thus bought ; as Asirgarh had been bought by Akbar, and as many forts were ingloriously acquired by Aurangzēb some years later.

The shameless traitor Fath Khān was taken into the imperial service and granted a liberal salary. The young prince whom he had set on the throne of Ahmadnagar was consigned to Gwālior for lifelong imprisonment, and the kingdom of the Nizām Shāhīs was ended (A.D. 1632 ; A.H. 1042).

In the following year (1633) the emperor went to the Panjāb and Kashmir. Prince Shujā failed to take Parēndā, and Mahābat Khān, Khān Khānān, died.

Campaign of 1635-6. In 1635 Shāhjahān resumed seriously his plans for the final reduction of the Deccan states, especially Bījāpur, where the independent attitude of the wealthy Ādil Shāhī dynasty was a standing offence in his eyes. A minor complication was introduced by the operations of the Marāthā chieftain, Shāhji or Sāhū, who set up another Nizām Shāhī boy as the nominal Sultan of Ahmadnagar. Shāhji will be heard of often again, especially as being the father of the more famous Sivaji. The appearance of the Marāthās on the stage of Mogul history may be dated from the early years of Shāhjahān's reign, or from about 1630 to 1635.

The emperor sent written commands to the Sultans of both Golkonda and Bījāpur requiring them to recognize his suzerainty, to pay tribute regularly, and to abstain from support of Shāhji and his allies of Ahmadnagar. The ruler of Golkonda (Hyderābād), unable to resist the might of the Mogul, complied humbly with all demands, reading the *khutba* and striking coins in the name of Shāhjahān.

The Ādil Shāh of Bījāpur was less complaisant, and, although willing to make some show of compliance, was determined to resist the imperial aggression. Shāhjahān continued his ruthless policy, and 'the imperial order was given to kill and ravage as much as possible in the Bījāpur territories'. Three armies converged on the country of the hapless sultan, burning, robbing, enslaving, and slaying without mercy or distinction. For instance, in one village 2,000 men were killed ; and in another place 2,000 prisoners, male and female, were sold as slaves. Akbar's prohibition of enslaving prisoners of war, even if it was obeyed in his reign, which may be doubted, had been long forgotten, and exercised no restraint over his pitiless grandson.

Treaty with Bījāpur, 1636. Although the capital city was saved by the desperate expedient of flooding the surrounding lands, effectual defence of the kingdom as a whole against the invading hosts was impracticable, and the Ādil Shāh was constrained to submit to terms only slightly less onerous than those imposed on Golkonda. The treaty, ratified by Shāhjahān on May 6, 1636, required the sultan to yield obedience to the emperor ; to pay a peace-offering of twenty lakhs of rupees ; to respect the frontier

of Golkonda, now a tributary state of the empire ; and to abstain from aiding Shāhjī in hostile measures. The Ahmadnagar State was definitely blotted out of existence, its territories being divided between Shāhjahān and the Ādil Shāh, whose independence was in a manner recognized by the imperial abstention from the demand for a regular annual tribute. The concession was more formal than real.

Aurangzēb appointed viceroy of the Deccan. The settlement so effected lasted for about twenty years. The peace was followed immediately by the appointment (July 14, 1636) of the young Prince Aurangzēb, then nearly eighteen years of age, as Viceroy of the Deccan. His charge comprised four provinces, namely :

(1) Khāndēsh, in the valley of the Tāptī ; capital, Burhānpur ; fortress, Asīrgarh.

(2) Berar (Birār), lying to the south-east of Khāndēsh, and now attached to the Central Provinces ; capital, Ellichpur (Ilichpur) ; fortress, Gāwīlgarh.

(3) Telingāna, or the Telugu country ; a wild, ill-defined region of hills and forests, situated between Berar and the Golkonda State ; capital, Nāndēr ; fortress, Kandhār (Kandahār) ; both being now in the Nizam's Dominions.

(4) Daulatābād, including the imperial portion of the late Ahmadnagar kingdom ; capital, Aurangābād (formerly Khirkī), a few miles from Daulatābād, which was considered the principal of many important fortresses.

The four provinces together were reckoned to contain 64 forts, several of which were still in possession of Shāhjī or other hostile holders. The gross revenue was estimated at 5 'crores', or 50 millions of rupees, out of which Aurangzēb was expected to defray all expenses, civil and military.

Aurangzēb as viceroy, 1636-44. It is unnecessary to follow the young viceroy in all the fights and sieges which occupied much of his time. He annexed Baglānā, a small principality in the hills near Nāsik. Shāhjī submitted and surrendered certain forts. In 1637 Aurangzēb went to Agra for his marriage with Dīlras Bāno Bēgam, daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān, a nobleman belonging to a junior branch of the Persian royal family. She became the mother of three daughters and two sons, the princes Azam and Akbar.

The difficulties of Aurangzēb's first viceroyalty of the Deccan were many. The country could not pay its way, and the viceroy was continually embarrassed by the distrust shown by his father, who was completely under the influence of Dārā Shikoh, his eldest son, and the lifelong enemy of Aurangzēb. A famous accident was associated with the termination of Aurangzēb's first term of provincial government. On March 26, 1644, the Princess Jahānārā, Shāhjahān's favourite daughter, was dangerously burnt owing to her light skirt having caught fire from a candle in the palace at Agra. She hovered between life and death for four months, and

was not finally cured until November.¹ In May Aurangzēb had visited Agra in order to see the patient. Three weeks after his arrival he was compelled to resign his official rank and allowances, retiring for the moment into private life. His temporary withdrawal from office has been usually misunderstood and represented as a hypocritical manifestation of religious fervour. It is now known that his action was forced by reasons purely political, having no concern with religious feelings. He had incurred his father's displeasure for some cause not recorded, and anticipated formal punishment by resignation. In one of his letters he states that his life was threatened, and it seems clear that his enforced retirement was due in some way or other to the machinations of his hostile brother, and his own resentment at his treatment.

After eight and a half months of unemployment Aurangzēb was appointed to the difficult government of the province of Gujarāt (February 16, 1645). He conducted the administration to the emperor's satisfaction, and in January 1647 was transferred to a dangerous post as Governor of Balkh and Badakhshān.

Kandahār. Kandahār, in virtue of its importance both as a strategical position and as the principal mart on the trade route between India and Persia, had been the subject of contention between the Persian Shāhs and the Indian Pādshāhs since the time of Humāyūn, who held the city for a few years. The Persians recovered it during Akbar's minority, but lost it in April 1595, owing to the treachery of the governor who betrayed it to an officer of Akbar. In 1622,² during Jahāngīr's reign, Shāh Abbās the Great regained possession of the place, and Persia held it until 1638, when Ali Mardān Khān betrayed it to a representative of Shāhjahān. The traitor was rewarded by the immediate gift of a lakh of rupees, and subsequent lucrative office under Shāhjahān, who attached high importance to the acquisition. He expended large sums on the fortification of the city and its dependencies. In the autumn of 1648 Shāhjahān heard of Persian preparations for the attack on Kandahār, but was persuaded to defer sending adequate reinforcements until the spring when they were too late.

Mogul Central Asian policy. Shāhjahān, like his father and grandfather, had always felt a strong desire to exercise complete control over the hilly region of Badakhshān, to the north of Kāfiristān, and the more distant province of Balkh, the ancient

¹ The familiar story made current by Orme and Stewart to the effect that Jahānārā was cured by an English surgeon named Gabriel Boughton (Bowden), who refused any reward other than a grant of trading privileges to the E. I. Co., cannot be true. The ship *Hopewell* did not arrive at Surat until September 1644. Jahānārā's accident occurred in March (o. s.) of that year, and her cure was completed in November. According to the Surat letter dated January 8, 1645, Boughton, 'late chirurgon of the *Hopewell*', was nominated then for duty at Agra. It follows that he must have been at Surat all the latter part of 1644 and that he travelled to Agra in 1645 (Foster, *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 254).

² Raverty gives the date as August 1622. Sarkar has 1623.

Bactria, lying between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus. The Mogul emperors at times dreamed even of extending their sway over all the countries connected with the early glories of their family, and of bringing Transoxiana, otherwise known as Bokhāra or Samarkand, under the sceptre of Hindostan. In 1645 (end of A. H. 1055), circumstances being favourable, Prince Murād Bakhsh and Alī Mardān Khān were able to occupy both Badakhshān and Balkh.

The prince, who hated such uncomfortable foreign service, fell into disgrace because he insisted on coming home. The prime minister, Sadullāh Khān, was then deputed to put things in order, and Murād Bakhsh after a short time was restored to favour. Shāhjahān, unwilling to abandon his long cherished ambition, now selected Aurangzēb to hold and consolidate the recent conquests. His efforts ended in disastrous failure. The imperial forces were compelled to evacuate Balkh. During the retreat (end of 1647) they lost about 5,000 men in the passes.

First siege of Kandahār, 1649. Aurangzēb, after his failure in Balkh, was transferred to the governorship of the Multān province. The emperor moved to Lahore and Kābul in order to guard against a threatened invasion by the Uzbegs, who had been emboldened by their success in defeating the ill-conceived Balkh expedition. The reader may remember that similar fears had detained Akbar near the north-western frontier for thirteen years from 1585 to 1598. Aurangzēb's stay at Multān was short. When news came in of the Persian designs on Kandahār the emperor determined to entrust Aurangzēb with the task of relieving the garrison. The prince made energetic preparations, but was sent too late, the city having been taken by the enemy long before he could arrive. The capitulation (February 11, 1649) was due to the inactivity and incapacity of Daulat Khān, the commandant. Aurangzēb was directed to recover Kandahār before the Persians should have time to consolidate their hold. He combined his forces with the army under the command of Sadullāh Khān, the prime minister, and attacked the city in May, without effect. The expeditionary force, equipped merely as a reinforcement, was useless for besieging purposes, being destitute of heavy ordnance, while the Persians were superior in military skill. The siege was raised on September 5, and Aurangzēb endured for the second time the humiliation of failure as a general. A victory gained over the Persians at Shāh Mīr on the Arghandab in August covered up the failure to retake Kandahār, and gave the Indian court an excuse for ceremonial rejoicing.

Second siege of Kandahār, 1652. Shāhjahān would not abandon his design of retaking Kandahār, to which he rightly attached high importance. The next three years were spent by him and Aurangzēb, who had returned to Multān, in organizing a powerful army with a siege-train and large supply of munitions for the investment of the city. Aurangzēb was nominally the commander-in-chief, but the conduct of operations actually was in the hands of Sadullāh Khān, the prime minister, acting under

the orders of Shāhjahān at Kābul. Sadullāh Khān and Aurangzēb again combined their forces at the beginning of May 1652 near Kandahār and undertook the investment of the city. They had strict orders from the emperor not to attempt an assault until a practicable breach had been effected. All their efforts to effect such a breach failed, owing to the inefficiency of the Indian gunnery and the superior skill of the Persians. Early in July Shāhjahān was constrained to order the abandonment of the siege, and Aurangzēb once more tasted the bitterness of defeat. His failure, although more his misfortune than his personal fault, finally destroyed his father's confidence in his powers.

Third siege of Kandahār, 1653. Prince Dārā Shikoh, the emperor's favourite, who was shortly afterwards exalted by the title of *Shāh Buland Ikbāl*, or 'King of Lofty Fortune', bragged that he would soon redress his hated brother's failure. Immense exertions got together a fresh army and siege-train in the short space of about three months. But the elder prince's 'lofty fortune' did not help him. After operations lasting five months he too had to confess to failure, and raise the siege in September 1653.

The Mogul dynasty never again attempted to recover Kandahār, and the repeated defeats of the best armies which India could raise decisively established the military superiority of the Persians.

Cost of siege; imperial revenue. Trustworthy estimates place the cost of the three sieges of Kandahār (1649, 1652, 1653) at 12 'crores', or 120 millions of rupees, more than half of the annual income of the empire, which is stated to have been 22 'crores', or 220 millions of rupees, in 1648. During Shāhjahān's reign the ordinary rate of exchange with Europe was 2s. 3d. per rupee. The imperial revenue, therefore, may be reckoned as 24½ millions of pounds sterling, or, in round figures, as about 25 millions.

Demolition of walls of Chitōr. Shāhjahān obtained some cheap compensation for his conspicuous defeats by the Persians in the destruction of the new fortifications of Chitōr, which Rānā Jagat Singh had ventured to construct, in defiance of a prohibition recorded by Jahāngīr. The submission of the reigning Rānā was secured by the cruel devastation of his territory, and a fortnight's work sufficed to demolish the walls of the fortress.

Aurangzēb again sent to the Deccan. Aurangzēb had not been a success as a general in the regions of the north-west, all his undertakings—the Balkh expedition, and the first and second sieges of Kandahār—having ended in disaster. He could not remain at court, where both his father and his elder brother were hostile, and it was necessary to place him somewhere at a distance. The emperor insisted on his resuming charge of the Deccan, to which he was reappointed immediately after his return from Kandahār. The prince crossed the Narbadā at the beginning of 1653, and lingered nine months at Burhānpur, where he had been captivated by the charms of a young singing woman named Hīrā Bāī, otherwise known as Zainābādī Mahall. Towards the end of

the year he took up his residence at the official capital, either in the fort of Daulatābād or in the neighbouring town of Aurangābād.

The remaining events of importance in the reign of Shāhjahān, until the war of succession began in 1658, are chiefly concerned with Aurangzēb's proceedings in the Deccan.

Administrative difficulties. The financial and administrative difficulties which had beset Aurangzēb during his first term of office as viceroy of the Deccan were still more troublesome during his second term. The country had been ill governed by a succession of incompetent and frequently changed officers, who had allowed the cultivated area to decrease, villages to be abandoned, and the people to be cruelly oppressed. Nothing like the nominal assessment of the land revenue could be collected, and in consequence both the imperial treasury and the provincial income suffered, while the *jāgīrdārs*, to whom the land revenue of certain districts had been assigned for their personal support and for the maintenance of their military contingents, were unable to meet their obligations. Aurangzēb was obliged to draw heavily on his cash reserves, and his requests to his father for pecuniary assistance were either absolutely rejected or granted with extreme reluctance. The prince did his best to restore cultivation and improve the revenue, but the results of bad government for many years could not be quickly remedied. While much improvement was effected, much remained to be done when the war of succession broke out.

Murshīd Kulī Khān's 'settlement'. Aurangzēb was fortunate in commanding the services of an exceptionally skilled revenue officer named Murshīd Kulī Khān. For fiscal purposes the Deccan was divided into two sections, namely, the Pāīnghāt, or Lowlands, comprising Khāndēsh, or the Tāptī valley, with part of Berar, and the Bālāghāt, or Highlands, comprising the rest of the viceregal jurisdiction. Murshīd Kulī Khān, a Persian, originally in the suite of Alī Mardān Khān, came to the Deccan with Aurangzēb as Diwān of the Highlands, and at the beginning of 1656 was promoted to be Diwān of the whole Deccan. Before his time the management of revenue affairs had been marked by complete want of system. The assessment of the state demand was made in a rough-and-ready fashion by the imposition of a small charge on the land cultivated by each plough, without any attempt at survey or valuation. Murshīd Kulī Khān extended to the Deccan Todar Mall's system of survey and assessment, or 'settlement', so far as possible; but was wise enough to make many local exceptions, and to preserve the old practice of fixing a lump sum for each plough-land, whenever a more scientific arrangement would not work in practice. He also was willing to accept payment in kind, and to arrange for the division of the crop by various methods. Advances of cash to the peasantry for the restoration of cultivation were freely made with good results. A capable observer noted in 1658 that then there was no waste land near Aurangābād.

The hostility of Dārā Shikoh and the consequent estrangement

of Shāhjahān greatly complicated the difficulties of administration. The emperor was so dissatisfied with Aurangzēb that he offered the Deccan to his son Shujā, who did not care to accept a transfer from Bengal.

Aurangzēb's aggressive policy. Aurangzēb did not confine his attention to the problems of internal administration. He was an ambitious, aggressive ruler, eager to carry on the traditional policy of his dynasty, and play the part of 'a great pike in a pond', as Chaplain Terry puts it. His main purpose was to destroy the independence of the sultanates of Golkonda and Bijāpur, and to transfer to himself and his supporters the immense riches and resources of both kingdoms. Mere ambition and greed always were motives sufficient to set any Mogul sovereign or prince in motion to wage a war of unprovoked aggression. But the emperor and his son, as bigoted Sunnī Musalmāns, took special pleasure in warring with the Sultans of Golkonda and Bijāpur, who adhered to the Shīa faith, and looked for alliance and protection to the Shāh of Persia rather than to the Pādshāh of Hindostan. The aggressive wars were waged with ruthless ferocity, and when ultimately the Sultans were dethroned they received no generous treatment from the victors. The defence of their independence by the two states is always described by the court historians in insulting language as villainous contumacy.

Pretexts for invasion never were lacking. Golkonda had become avowedly a tributary state since 1636, and arrears were always due. Although the sense of dignity ('izzat) of the Bijāpur sultan had been respected so far that he was not required to pay a fixed annual tribute, he was expected to make 'presents' every year, so that the distinction between his position and that of Golkonda was little more than a matter of form. Bijāpur never paid anything that it could avoid paying. Other reasons for displeasure against the sultans were easily found when wanted.

Mir Jumla. Aurangzēb's chief helper in his designs on the Deccan kingdoms, and a little later on the throne of Hindostan, was the Persian adventurer, generally known as Mir Jumla, a merchant from Ardistān. Following the example set by Mahmūd Gāwān under the Bahmanī dynasty in the fifteenth century, he began as a successful trader, and quickly went on to make himself virtual master of the Golkonda or Hyderabad kingdom as prime minister of Abdullah Kutb Shāh. Not content with his position as the chief of the Kutb Shāh's servants, he carved out for himself a domain virtually amounting to an independent kingdom, by conquering and annexing the Karnatik, or Kanarese country under the rule of the Rājā of Chandragiri, the representative of the Vijayanagar dynasty. Mir Jumla's dominion, about 800 miles long by 50 broad, yielded a revenue of forty lakhs of rupees and supported a considerable army especially strong in its park of good artillery manned by European gunners.

The semi-independent position acquired by Mir Jumla naturally aroused the jealousy of his nominal master, the Kutb Shāh, who

attempted to bring his too powerful servant under his control. Mīr Jumla defended himself by intrigues with Bijāpur, Persia, Shāhjahān, and Aurangzēb. Ultimately he attached himself definitely to the Mogul service and accepted high office from Shāhjahān, thus becoming a traitor to the Kutb Shāh.

Aurangzēb's treacherous policy. Aurangzēb forced hostilities on that unhappy and incompetent monarch, whom he was determined to destroy. His purpose is frankly expressed in written instructions under his hand addressed to his eldest son, Prince Muhammad Sultan, which were :

'Qutb-ul-Mulk is a coward and will probably offer no resistance. Surround his palace with your artillery and also post a detachment to bar his flight to Golkonda. But before doing so, send a carefully chosen messenger to him, saying :

"I had been so long expecting that you would meet me and hospitably ask me to stay with you. But as you have not done so, I have myself come to you." Immediately on delivering this message, attack him impetuously, and if you can manage it, lighten his neck of the burden of his head. The best means of achieving this plan are cleverness, promptitude, and lightness of hand.'

Such was the treachery which Aurangzēb and his father were not ashamed to employ against a Muhammadan king whose only offence was his independence.

Prince Muhammad Sultan presently entered Hyderabad, which was plundered by his soldiery, in spite of orders forbidding excesses. The prince and his father, Aurangzēb, who were not above taking advantage of the irregular action of their troops, appropriated many valuables, including a library of precious manuscripts. Hyderabad, however, was so rich that much wealth remained to tempt another attack. The king, meantime, had shut himself up in the fortress of Golkonda a few miles distant.

Siege of Golkonda ; peace. In February 1656 Aurangzēb began the siege of Golkonda, and progressed slowly, after the manner of Mogul generals when besieging strong places. Being resolved to annex the whole of the kingdom, the wealth of which he coveted, he rejected all proposals for peace. Shāhjahān, however, who had reasons of his own, was more accommodating, and accepted the Sultan's proposals for peace on certain terms, promising complete pardon. Aurangzēb held back that letter in order to extort more favourable terms, and the emperor, having been referred to, sanctioned his son's action. A little later Shāhjahān was induced by Prince Dārā Shikoh and Princess Jahānārā to put a summary stop to the war. Aurangzēb was compelled to raise the siege on March 30. The Kutb Shāh agreed to pay a considerable indemnity and to cede a district. By a secret agreement with Aurangzēb the Sultan also promised to make Prince Muhammad Sultan his heir.

Mīr Jumla prime minister. Mīr Jumla, who had joined Aurangzēb's camp with a powerful army, was now appointed

¹ *Adab*, 187 b ; in Sarkar, *History*, vol. i, p. 280.

prime minister of the empire in succession to Allāmī Sadullāh Khān who had recently died. The deceased minister, although unfortunate in his military adventures, was reputed one of the best Muhammadan administrators whom India has known.

The Rājā of Chandragiri, the representative of the great dynasty of Vijayanagar, tried to secure protection from the emperor, offering even to become a Muslim. But his efforts failed utterly and he was left to the tender mercies of Bijāpur, Golkonda, and Mīr Jumla.

Foundation of Madras. The grant made early in 1639 of the site of Madras to an English factor, although unnoticed at the time, was one of the most important events in the reign of Shāhjahān, as being the beginning of British territorial acquisition in India.

War with Bijāpur. The Sultan or King of Bijāpur had taken advantage of the security afforded by the treaty of 1636 to extend his dominions to the east, south, and west. At the end of 1649 the powerful fortress of Jingī or Gingee, now in the South Arcot District, capitulated to him, and he also gained a certain amount of success against the Portuguese of Goa. The reigning Sultan, Muhammad Ādil Shāh (1626–56), ruled a realm extending across the peninsula from sea to sea, maintained a magnificent court, and had raised his kingdom to a degree of wealth and power previously unattained. That fortunate sovereign died on November 4, 1656. The succession of his only son, a youth eighteen years of age, naturally resulted in internal disturbances, which also offered an opportunity for the gratification of the ambition of the Mogul dynasty. Shāhjahān readily granted his viceroy power to act as he thought fit. Aurangzēb invaded the kingdom with the help of the traitor Mīr Jumla at the earliest possible moment. Bidar fell at the end of March 1657, after a gallant defence; Mahābat Khān and Aurangzēb cruelly ravaged the Bijāpur territory; and on August 1 Kalyānī capitulated.

The complete conquest of the kingdom was in sight, when Shāhjahān intervened and ratified a treaty of peace, by which the Sultan agreed to surrender Bidar, Kalyānī, and Parēndā, besides certain other places, and to pay a large indemnity. The final operations in the Deccan undertaken by Aurangzēb were directed to checking the daring raids of young Sivājī, the Marāthā leader, son of Shāhji Bhonslā, who has been mentioned more than once. The dangerous illness of Shāhjahān, which began early in September 1657, and resulted in the war of succession, put a stop to all thoughts of further conquest in the Deccan. The sultanates obtained a respite for nearly thirty years.

Disputed succession. Although the preferential claim of the eldest son of a Chagatāi Mogul sovereign to succeed his father on the throne was generally acknowledged, his absolute right was not established sufficiently to secure his position without dispute. Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Shāhjahān had all found themselves compelled to confront the rivalry of near relatives. Shāhjahān desired to be succeeded by his eldest son, Prince Dārā Shikoh,

and took every practicable step to ensure the fulfilment of his desire. Unprecedented titles, honours, and wealth were lavished on the much loved senior prince, who was kept constantly near the imperial person, and, as Shāhjahān grew old, was allowed to exercise most of the imperial prerogatives. The emperor's three other sons observed with unconcealed jealousy the favour bestowed on the eldest-born, and all three were resolved to contest his succession. Each thought himself capable of reigning, and was prepared to stake life and everything else on the issue of the conflict which was regarded as inevitable whenever their father should die. The fact that all the four sons were children of one mother, Arjumand Bāno Bēgam, was no check on their ambitions. They all accepted the Timūrid maxim that 'no one is a relation to a king', and well knew that mere abstention from contest would not save the life of any of the brothers after one of their number had taken his seat on the throne definitely. The struggle for the succession had to be fought out to the bitter end—*takht yā takhta*, which may be loosely rendered as 'crown or coffin', was the inevitable goal.

The long story of the war of succession has been vividly related by several contemporary authors in Persian, French, and English, whose narratives have been digested critically in Professor Sarkar's work, the second volume being wholly devoted to the subject. In this place it is not practicable to give more than a summary outline of the tragic happenings.

The sons of Shāhjahān. The four sons of Shāhjahān were Dārā Shikoh, Shujā, Aurangzēb, and Murād Bakhsh, all men of mature age in 1657, aged respectively 43, 41, 39, and about 33 years. All the four had had considerable experience in military and civil affairs on a large scale. The eldest, who remained with his father, was viceroy of the Panjāb, and other provinces on the north-west, which he administered through deputies. Shujā ruled the great territories of Bengal and Orissa. Aurangzēb controlled the Deccan, while Murād Bakhsh governed Gujarāt and the west. Thus the four princes held the semi-independent government of regions, each of which had been a powerful kingdom, and could supply its ruler with abundant cash and many thousands of armed men. The gigantic hoard of treasure stored in the vaults of the Agra fort was to be at the disposal of the victor.

All the princes possessed the soldier's virtue of personal valour, which was displayed conspicuously by both Aurangzēb and Murād Bakhsh. Dārā Shikoh's considerable natural abilities were neutralized by the violence of his temper and the intolerable arrogance of manner, which gained him hosts of enemies. Shujā, an agreeable man, with some skill as a general, was rendered ineffective by his love of pleasure, and his unreadiness to take instant action at the decisive moment. Murād Bakhsh was a passionate, headstrong, tyrannical man, the bravest of the brave, but drunken, dissolute, and brainless. It is needless to draw a formal sketch of the character of Aurangzēb, whose con-

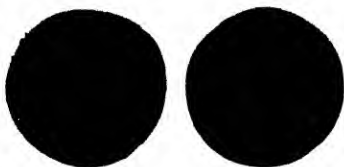
summate ability as an unscrupulous intriguer and cool politician is apparent on the face of the narrative. Although his failures in Balkh and at Kandahār may be regarded as disparaging to his skill as a commander of armies, his imperturbable self-possession enabled him to emerge with success from most embarrassing tactical situations during the war of succession. His indomitable resolve to win the throne at any cost and by any means carried him through and gave him victory.

Religious hostility. The unorthodoxy of Dārā Shikoh was an important factor in the struggle. That prince, while continuing to conform to the Sunnī ritual and to be a professed Muslim of the Hanafī school, was deeply imbued with the heretical mysticism of the Sūfis. He also associated gladly with Hindu philosophers and went so far as to take part in producing a Persian version of some of the Upanishads, which he declared to be a revelation earlier than the Korān.¹ He was so intimate with Father Buseo and other priests that he was believed by some persons to be within measurable distance of embracing Christianity. That attitude towards Islām infuriated Aurangzēb, who certainly was a devout Sunnī Muslim, whatever judgement may be formed of his moral character. He regarded his eldest brother as a pestilent infidel, deserving of worse than death. Shujā, who professed the Shia faith, and Murād Bakhsh, who was reputed to be privately inclined to that form of religion, concurred with Aurangzēb in hostility to Dārā Shikoh's latitudinarian views, and were glad to help their own causes by appeals to religious fanaticism. The Rājputs were the principal support of Dārā Shikoh, and if Jaswant Singh of Mārwar (Jodhpur) had not behaved with shameless treachery the eldest prince might have won.

Rebellion of Aurangzēb. During the autumn of 1657 endless plotting and counter-plotting went on. Shāhjahān, whose health was partly restored, sought to secure the succession of his first-born son, and to prevent civil war if possible. Aurangzēb continually temporized and endeavoured to shirk the responsibility of open rebellion. He was anxious to secure the fruits of his military successes in the Deccan, but failed in that design, and was constrained to give his whole attention to the contest with his father and brothers in the north. Both Shujā and Murād Bakhsh forced his hand by assuming the imperial style and striking coins, each in his own name. Shujā was the first to enthrone himself, doing so at Rājmahāl, then the capital of Bengal, in the autumn of 1657, immediately on receipt of the news of his father's dangerous illness. Murād Bakhsh took similar action at Ahmadābād, on December 5, in opposition to the advice of his ally, Aurangzēb, who preferred to move with extreme caution. At the end of October Aurangzēb took the prudent precaution of seizing all the

¹ For list of his works see 'Dara Shikoh as an Author' (*J. P. II. S.*, vol. ii, pp. 21-38); and Blochmann in *J. A. S. B.*, part 1, 1870, pp. 273-9. The spellings *Shikoh* and *Shukoh* are both legitimate.

ferries over the Narbadā, and so concealing the progress of events in the Deccan from his father and eldest brother, while securing his own passage into Hindostan. Late in December Shāhjahān sent peremptory orders recalling Mīr Jumla to court. Aurangzēb countered that step by arresting his confederate and attaching his property. The circumstances indicate that probably Mīr Jumla connived at his own arrest. Certainly he did not resent it, nor did he fail to continue to give his ally invaluable support when released. Aurangzēb had thus become a rebel, and could no longer continue his temporizing policy. Mīr Jumla's fine park of artillery proved to be extremely useful. At the beginning of February 1658 Aurangzēb began to exercise imperial prerogatives by granting titles and making appointments to high offices. He crossed the Narbadā on April 3 without opposition, and effected a junction with Murād's army in Mālwa, in the neighbourhood of Ujjain. At that time the agreement between Aurangzēb and Murād Bakhsh, as solemnly recorded in writing, was to the effect that the empire should be divided, Murād Bakhsh receiving the Panjāb, Kābul,



Rupee of Murād Bakhsh.

Kashmīr, and Sind, while Aurangzēb should take the rest. No provision was made for Shujā. A little later Aurangzēb seems to have pretended that he desired Murād Bakhsh to become sole emperor, but at the beginning of the war the policy of partition had been accepted formally.

Battle of Dharmat, April 15, 1658. Shāhjahān experienced

much difficulty in procuring generals to oppose princes of the blood-royal, especially inasmuch as he gave instructions that the lives of his rebel sons were to be spared if possible. The only prince available to lead an imperialist army at a distance was Dārā Shikoh's elder son, Sulaimān Shikoh, who was sent to fight Shujā. Rājā Jaswant Singh of Mārwar (Jodhpur) and Kāsim Khān were induced to undertake the duty of stopping Aurangzēb and Murād Bakhsh. The hostile armies, approximately equal in numbers, met at Dharmat, fourteen miles SSW. of Ujjain, on April 15 (o.s.), 1658, with the result that the imperialists were utterly defeated. Their disaster was due partly to the evils of divided command and jealousy between the Rājput̄s and the Musalmāns, and partly to the bad choice of ground made and the erroneous tactics pursued by the Rājā. Kāsim Khān did little to help his master's cause, and the gallant Rājput̄ clans suffered most of the casualties.

Battle of Samūgarh, May 29, 1658. The rebel princes pressed on, securing the passage of the Chambal over a neglected ford. Dārā Shikoh led out from Agra a superior and powerful force, which met the rebels at Samūgarh or Sambhūgarh, eight miles to the east of Agra Fort. The battle fought on May 29, in the

terrible heat of summer, was vigorously contested, and the Rājputs, although injudiciously handled, again did honour to the traditions of their race. Equal valour was displayed by Aurangzēb and Murād Bakhsh, who risked their lives without hesitation. The younger prince received three wounds in the face and the howdah of his elephant bristled with arrows. When the imperialists had suffered severely, and Dārā Shikoh's elephant had become the mark of the enemy's guns so that it was in imminent danger of destruction, the heir apparent was persuaded to come down and mount a horse. That action settled the fate of the battle. His remaining troops broke when they saw the empty howdah, and Dārā Shikoh fled to Agra with a few exhausted followers. His camp, guns, and all he possessed fell into the hands of the victors. Some accounts represent his defeat, and especially his descent from the elephant, as being due to the treacherous advice of Khalilullah Khān, one of his generals, but the tactical errors committed by the imperialist commanders suffice to explain the disaster. The battle really decided the war of succession. All the subsequent efforts to retrieve the cause then lost, whether made by Dārā Shikoh himself, by his son, Sulaimān Shikoh, or by Shujā and Murād Bakhsh, were in vain. Aurangzēb proved himself to be by far the ablest of the princes in every phase of the contest, which was not ended until two years later, in May 1660, when Shujā met his miserable fate.

Fate of Shāhjahān and Murād Bakhsh. Aurangzēb lost no time. On June 8 he received the surrender of the Agra Fort with all its treasures, and made his father a prisoner for life. Father and son never met again. Murād Bakhsh rashly attempted open opposition and was silly enough to allow himself on June 25 to be inveigled into a manifest trap by his unscrupulous brother, while encamped at Rūpnagar near Mathurā. He was imprisoned first at Salimgarh, Delhi, and then at Gwālior, where he was executed in December 1661. Aurangzēb, who, like Henry VIII of England, preferred to kill his victims with all the forms of law when possible, instigated a son of Ali Naki, the diwān whom Murād Bakhsh had murdered in Gujarāt in 1657, to claim the price of blood under Koranic law. The prince, after trial by a Kāzī, was duly declared deserving of death and beheaded in his prison.

Fate of Shujā and Prince Muhammad Sultan. Aurangzēb went through an informal ceremony of enthronement, equivalent to the coronation in European monarchies, on July 21, but refrained from inserting his name in the *khutba* or 'bidding prayer', and from issuing coins. He devoted all his energies to the pursuit of Dārā Shikoh, who was hunted through Delhi and Lahore as far as Multān by Aurangzēb, who was then, in September, obliged to turn back in order to meet the danger threatening him by reason of Shujā's advance from Bengal, and the operations of Dārā Shikoh's son, Sulaimān Shikoh. The latter had defeated Shujā at Bahādurpur near Benares in February 1658, but was too far away

to be able to help his father in time. Shujā, who was strong in artillery, and had a large fleet of boats, recovered from his defeat, and during the autumn entertained high hopes of success. But on January 5, 1659, his army was routed at Khajwah in the Fatehpore District, by a superior force under Aurangzēb in person, and he never again had any real prospect of vanquishing his enemy. Mīr Jumla pursued the prince unrelentingly with an army five-fold the strength of his; and drove him across Bengal to Dacca and thence over the Arakan frontier in May 1660. He and all his family were slaughtered by the Arakanese, but the exact details were never ascertained, and false reports that Shujā still lived continued to be current for some years.

Aurangzēb's eldest son, Prince Muhammad Sultan, having quarrelled with Mīr Jumla, had foolishly joined Shujā for a time and married his daughter. He paid the penalty by lifelong imprisonment and death by private execution in 1676 or 1677.

Fate of the sons of Dārā Shikoh. Sulaimān Shikoh, having been forced to take refuge in the hills of Garhwāl in August 1658, was received hospitably by the Rājā of Srinagar in that principality, which must not be confounded with the town of the same name in Kashmīr. The Rājā honourably kept faith with his hunted guest, but his son yielded to the pressure applied by the emperor, and betrayed the prince in December 1660. The young man, who was singularly handsome, was brought in chains before his uncle, who solemnly promised that the prisoner would not be tortured by the slow poison of *posta*, or infusion of opium-poppy heads. The promise was shamelessly violated, and Sulaimān Shikoh's body and mind were gradually wrecked by the daily administration of the deadly draught in the state prison at Gwālīor. His jailers finished him off in May 1662.

His younger brother, Sipīhr Shikoh, was spared, and married a few years later to his cousin, the third daughter of Aurangzēb. The same treatment was accorded to the son of Murād Bakhsh, named Izīd Bakhsh, who was married to the emperor's fifth daughter. Aurangzēb, while not shrinking from any severity deemed necessary to secure his throne, had no taste for indiscriminate, superfluous bloodshed; and, when he felt his power established beyond danger of dispute by the sons of his brothers, was willing to allow the youths to live. His subsequent dangers came from the side of his own sons.

Flight and defeat of Dārā Shikoh. The sad story of Dārā Shikoh remains to be completed. We left him at Multān in September 1657, when Aurangzēb turned back in order to dispose of Shujā, while his officers pursued Dārā Shikoh with untiring energy. The prince, who 'seemed doomed never to succeed in any enterprise', fled down the course of the Indus with an ever-diminishing force, and would not make a stand even at the strong fortress of Bhakkar, where a faithful eunuch guarded his treasure and some of his ladies. At this point, acting under the influence of unjust suspicions, he dismissed Dāūd Khān, one of his most

faithful followers. Dāūd, astonished to hear such an order, took an awful step to prove his fidelity.

‘He murdered the honourable ladies of his harem, in order to be free from anxiety about them; and then reported to Dārā how he had “composed his mind about certain objects which make men hesitate and shrink from desperate exertion and fighting at such times of danger”.’

Even that horror did not eradicate suspicion from the mind of the prince. Dāūd Khān was constrained to quit his ungrateful master and enter the service of Aurangzēb, who welcomed him and raised him to high office.

Dārā Shikoh forced his way with difficulty through the Sihwān gorge, and so reached Tatta (Thathah). Driven thence he crossed the Indus delta and the terrible Rann, and so entered Cutch (Kachchh) where he was kindly received. But he dared not stay, and pressed on into Kāthiawār and Gujarāt. At Ahmadābād he found a friend in the governor Shāhnawāz Khān, who opened the gates of the city to him, and enabled him to occupy Surat. At that moment the unlucky prince, who had collected a considerable force, seemed to have a chance of success. If he had adopted the advice of the counsellors who recommended retirement to the Deccan, he might have become a dangerous rival of his brother. Unfortunately, delusive hopes of alliance with Shujā and Jaswant Singh, the treacherous Rājā of Mārwar, tempted him to advance to Ajmēr in reliance upon Rājput help. His programme was announced as being the release of Shāhjahān, not the assumption of royalty by himself. Jaswant Singh had promised to bring his Rāthōrs to the standard of the prince, but he yielded to the seductions and gold of Aurangzēb, and broke his plighted word.

Dārā Shikoh, when forced to fight, even without the expected Rāthōr contingent, made the best of his situation by entrenching himself in a strong, well-chosen position at the Pass of Deorāi, to the south of Ajmēr. The battle raged for three days, April 12–14, 1659, and ended in the rout of the prince, whose position had been turned by a body of hill-men in the imperialist service.

Betrayal of the prince. The hapless Dārā Shikoh now resumed his flight. Speeding across Rājputānā he again reached Cutch, once more traversed the waterless Rann, and entered Sind hoping to reach Kandahār, and so find an asylum in Persia. With extreme folly, and in opposition to urgent remonstrances, he placed himself in the power of a faithless Afghan named Jīwan Khān, chief of Dādar, a place nine miles to the east of the Bolan Pass. The treacherous host promptly betrayed his guest on June 9. It is some satisfaction to know that the traitor did not long enjoy the reward of his baseness. He and his retinue of about fourteen persons were stoned to death in a field near Sihhind by order of Aurangzēb. Manucci experienced ‘great pleasure’ at seeing the corpses, and notes that the Muhammadans with him ‘uttered a thousand curses’ over the body of Jīwan Khān. The same author points out that Aurangzēb was careful to destroy every person who had laid hands on any member of the imperial family.

Death of Nādira Bēgam. The only excuse for the obstinate folly of Dārā Shikoh on this occasion is to be found in the fact that he was not then in his right mind, by reason of the death of his cousin, Nādira Bēgam, the wife of his youth, and the mother of his sons. Throughout his dreadful journeyings, in heat, hunger, thirst, and every form of misery, that loving woman had borne her husband company. Her much tried strength failed as they approached Dādar, and when the prince threw himself on the hospitality of Jiwan Khān he cared little whether he lived or died. 'Death was painted in his eyes. . . . Everywhere he saw only destruction, and losing his senses became utterly heedless of his own affairs.'

The Timūrid princes, notwithstanding their polygamous habits and the freedom of their relations with women, often showed a capacity for feeling the passion of conjugal love in its utmost intensity. Akbar's strange nature does not seem to have been disturbed by any such deep passion. His attitude towards women was much like that of Napoleon. But Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān, Dārā Shikoh, and even Aurangzēb knew what it meant to love a wife. A beautiful album in the India Office Library is a pathetic memorial of Dārā Shikoh's love. It bears the inscription in his handwriting :

'This album was presented to his nearest and dearest friend, the Lady Nādirah Bēgam, by Prince Muhammad Dārā Shukoh, son of the Emperor Shāhjahān, in the year 1051' (= A. D. 1641-2).¹

Betrayal of Dārā Shikoh. The rest of the tragic story is soon told. The captive prince, with two daughters and his second son, Sipihr Shikoh, a boy of fourteen, was made over to Bahādur Khān, who brought the party to Delhi. Aurangzēb indulged his spite by parading his brother, clad like a beggar-man, on the back of a small, dirty she-elephant through the streets of Delhi. The learned French physician, François Bernier, witnessed the sad procession.

'I took', he writes, 'my station in one of the most conspicuous parts of the city, in the midst of the largest bazaar ; was mounted on a good horse, and accompanied by two servants and two intimate friends. From every quarter I heard piercing and distressing shrieks, for the Indian people have a very tender heart ; men, women, and children wailing as if some mighty calamity had happened to themselves. *Gion-kan* (Jiwan Khān) rode near the wretched *Dara* ; and the abusive and indignant cries vociferated as the traitor moved along were absolutely deafening. I observed some *Fakires* and several poor people throw stones at the infamous *Patan* ; but not a single movement was made, no one offered to draw his sword with a view of delivering the beloved and compassionated *Dara*.'

His execution. A council was held to determine the prisoner's fate. His sister Roshan Rāi (Roshanārā) clamoured for his blood and was supported in her unnatural contention by most of the councillors. Bernier's patron, Dānishmand Khān, seems to have been the only person who opposed the capital sentence. The court

¹ *II. F. A.*, p. 458, plates cxix, cxx, cxxi.

theologians readily humoured Aurangzēb's liking for proceeding by legal forms, and passed sentence of death against Dārā Shikoh, as being a heretic. A popular riot on August 30, directed against Jīwan Khān, the traitor, determined Aurangzēb no longer to delay the execution. On the night of that day brutal murderers tore away Sipihīr Shikoh from his father's embrace, and, after a violent struggle, beheaded Dārā Shikoh. The corpse was again paraded through the city and buried without ceremony in a vault under the dome of Humāyūn's tomb. The head certainly was shown to Aurangzēb for identification, but happily we need not believe the horrid stories concerning the emperor's conduct which are told by Manucci only, and are not in any way confirmed by other authorities. According to Bernier, Aurangzēb 'shed tears', and said, '*‘Ai bad-bakht! Ah, wretched man! let this shocking sight no more offend my eyes, but take away the head, and let it be buried in Houmayon's tomb’.* The tears are hardly credible.

Captivity and death of Shāhjahān. Shāhjahān, meanwhile, continued to be closely confined in the Agra Fort, under the special care of a tyrannical eunuch, who frequently gratified the malice of his perverted nature by inflicting galling petty indignities upon the captive monarch. Except for such torturing humiliations and the continuance of strict confinement to the fort the prisoner was not physically ill-treated. His lascivious tastes were gratified by the provision of female attendants, and his daughter Jahānārā was allowed to minister to her father. Shāhjahān lived until January 22 (o.s.), 1666, when he died a natural death at the age of seventy-four. Towards the close of his life he became extremely devout, detaching himself from worldly affairs, and occupying his time with religious exercises.

Character of Shāhjahān. Shāhjahān has received from most modern historians, and especially from Elphinstone, treatment unduly favourable. The magnificence of his court, the extent and wealth of his empire, the comparative peace which was preserved during his reign, and the unique beauty of his architectural masterpiece, the Tāj, have combined to dazzle the vision of his modern biographers, most of whom have slurred over his many crimes and exaggerated such virtues as he possessed. As a son he failed in his duty, remaining in rebellion for years. He mercilessly exterminated his collateral male relations, beginning with his elder brother, Khusrū, in order to clear his own path to the throne. As a father he displayed undue partiality for his first-born son, and showed little capacity for control over his family. The brightest feature in his character as a man is his intense love for Mumtāz Mahall, the mother of fourteen of his sixteen children. Probably he restrained his passions during her lifetime, but she died early in his reign (1631), and there is no doubt that during the remaining thirty-five years of his life he disgraced himself by gross licentiousness. In affairs of state he was cruel, treacherous, and unscrupulous, perhaps not worse than most other kings of his time, but certainly

not better.¹ He had little skill as a military leader. The loss of Kandahār and the triple failure to recover that important position prove the inefficiency of the organization and command of his army.

The justice of Shāhjahān. Flatterers have recorded the most extravagant eulogies on his supposed justice, but examination of concrete facts does not warrant the panegyrics. Manucci, the Italian adventurer, who wrote an entertaining book of reminiscences, ventured to assert that Shāhjahān, in spite of his admitted lasciviousness, governed his kingdom 'most perfectly'. When the illustrations of the perfect government recorded by him are studied, it appears that Shāhjahān's 'justice' was merely the savage, unfeeling ferocity of the ordinary Asiatic despot, exercised without respect of persons and without the slightest tincture of compassion.



SHĀHJAHĀN.

Manucci witnessed the execution of Muhammad Sa'id, the Kotwāl or Chief Police Officer of either Agra or Delhi, for alleged bribery. The description of the incident being short, may be quoted verbally :

'He kept his eye on his officials, punishing them rigorously when they fell short in their duty. This was the reason that he kept at his court an official with several baskets full of poisonous snakes. He would order that in his presence they should be made to bite any official who had failed to administer justice, leaving the culprit lying in his presence till the breath left him.

Thus he did, as I saw, to the *cotwal* (Kotwāl) called Mahomed Sa'id (Muhammad Sa'id), who is the magistrate. This man did not decide uprightly, and took bribes. Therefore an order was given that he should be bitten in one hand in his (Shāhjahān's) presence by a *cobra capello*, the most poisonous snake on earth. The official in charge of the snakes was asked how long the man could live. The official replied that he could not live more than an hour. The king remained seated until the Kotwāl expired. He then ordered that the body should lie two days in front of his court-house. Others who had deserved death were ordered to be thrown to mad elephants, who tore them to pieces' (i. 197).

On another occasion a favourite slave, who had been instructed not to give away betel to the courtiers, was seen to disobey the order. He was punished by being beaten to death in the emperor's presence. Shāhjahān, like his father, took a horrid pleasure in witnessing the shocking punishments inflicted at his caprice. Thieves, we are told, were never pardoned.

Administration. The stupid ferocity exhibited by the emperor

¹ Terry's vigorous, but just condemnation may be quoted : 'That murderer . . . all laws of honesty, of nature, being by him thrown down, trampled under foot, forgotten, and made void, to compass and gain his most unjust ends.' Roe's verdict has been quoted.

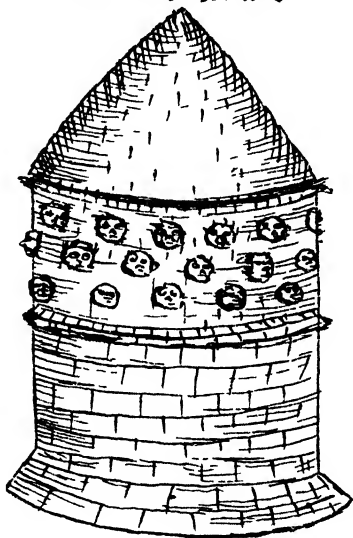
was imitated by his provincial governors, who never dreamed of studying the causes of crime, being content to attempt its repression by a policy of indiscriminate massacre. When Peter Mundy, one of the most prosaic and matter-of-fact observers conceivable, travelled to and from Patna in the years 1630 to 1633, early in the reign, he found the neighbourhood of Patna unsafe, because 'this country, as all the rest of India, swarms with rebels and thieves'. Multitudes of *chôr mînârs*, or masonry pillars studded with the heads of alleged criminals, were found 'commonly near to great cities'. Each *mînâr* contained from thirty to forty heads set in plaster. At a place in the Cawnpore District the traveller counted 200 such pillars. When he returned some months later 60 more had been added. The 260 pillars in that small area recorded the massacre of at least 8,000 persons within a short time.

State of the country. Other travellers bear similar testimony to the misgovernment of the country. Bernier, who travelled and resided in the empire at the close of Shâhjahân's reign, and the earlier part of that of his successor, was a highly trained observer, in the service of a great noble of the court, who was reputed the most learned man of Asia. Bernier, while deeply interested as a student in what he saw, was free from personal bias for or against either Shâhjahân or Aurangzêb. While admitting the moral wickedness of Aurangzêb's measures taken to win the throne, the author adds with uncommon impartiality the remark:

'Yet even those who may maintain that the circumstances of country, birth, and education afford no palliation of the conduct pursued by *Aurang-Zebe*, must admit that this Prince is endowed with a versatile and rare genius, that he is a consummate statesman, and a great King.'

The testimony of the man who could write in that spirit cannot be brushed aside as an exaggeration recorded by a hostile European witness. He speaks of the actual state of the country at the most brilliant period of Mogul rule, when the dynasty was fully established, rich beyond compare, and undisturbed by foreign aggression. His pessimistic observations appear to apply specially to the upper

*A Munâr or Pillar of
Dead men's Heads*



provinces. The fertility and commerce of Bengal excited his enthusiastic admiration.

Bernier's gloomy impressions. The traveller's gloomy impressions are illustrated by the following passages. Having spoken of the despotic tyranny of local governors, he declares that it was

'often so excessive as to deprive the peasant and artisan of the necessities of life, and leave them to die of misery and exhaustion—a tyranny owing to which those wretched people either have no children at all, or have them only to endure the agonies of starvation, and to die at a tender age—a tyranny, in fine, that drives the cultivator of the soil from his wretched home to some neighbouring state, in hopes of finding milder treatment, or to the army, where he becomes the servant of some trooper. As the ground is seldom tilled otherwise than by compulsion, and as no person is found willing and able to repair the ditches and canals for the conveyance of water, it happens that the whole country is badly cultivated, and a great part rendered unproductive from the want of irrigation. The houses, too, are left in a dilapidated condition, there being few people who will either build new ones, or repair those which are tumbling down' (p. 226).

'The country is ruined by the necessity of defraying the enormous charges required to maintain the splendour of a numerous court, and to pay a large army maintained for the purpose of keeping the people in subjection. No adequate idea can be conveyed of the sufferings of that people. The cudgel and the whip compel them to incessant labour for the benefit of others; and driven to despair by every kind of cruel treatment, their revolt or their flight is only prevented by the presence of a military force' (p. 230).

'Thus do ruin and desolation overspread the land' (p. 231).

'A *Persian*, in speaking of these greedy Governors, Timariots [= *jāgīr-dārs*], and Farmers of Revenue, aptly describes them as men who extract oil out of sand. No income appears adequate to maintain them, with their crowds of harpies—women, children, and slaves' (p. 236).

Similar ruin and tyranny had been the fate of the Deccan during the years from 1644 to 1653, in the interval between the first and the second viceroyalty of Aurangzēb. When one pitiless governor of that time, Khān-i Daurān, died, his death was hailed as a divine deliverance.

Bernier praises Bengal. When the traveller visited Bengal, which had been long ruled almost as an independent kingdom by Prince Shujā, and did not need irrigation, his impressions were totally different. He found supplies plentiful and remarkably cheap. The trade of the country in rice, sugar, cotton fabrics, silks, saltpetre, opium, and many other commodities was astonishing in its extent. 'In a word,' he says, 'Bengal abounds with every necessary of life' (pp. 438 foll.). He quotes 'a proverb in common use among the Portuguese, English, and Dutch, that the Kingdom of Bengale has a hundred gates open for entrance, but not one for departure'.

Climax of the Mogul empire. Whatever be the view taken of the personal character of Shāhjahān or the efficiency of his administration, it can hardly be disputed that his reign marks the

climax of the Mogul dynasty and empire. During the space of thirty years (1628-58) the authority of the emperor was not seriously challenged, and the realm was never invaded by any foreign foe. Although the loss of Kandahār and the failure of three attempts to retake it proved military inefficiency and encouraged Persian pride, those events had little effect on India, where the strength of the army amply sufficed to uphold the imperial system. It is true that Shāhjahān's son, Aurangzēb Ālamgīr, largely extended the southern frontier of the empire during the first thirty years of his reign; but it is also true that long before the annexation of the sultanates in the Deccan the Marāthās had searched out the weak places in the imperial armour, and the erroneous policy of the sovereign had undermined the foundations of his throne. The empire, which had suffered severely from the prolonged wars of succession, may be regarded as declining throughout the whole reign of Aurangzēb, notwithstanding his conquests in the south.

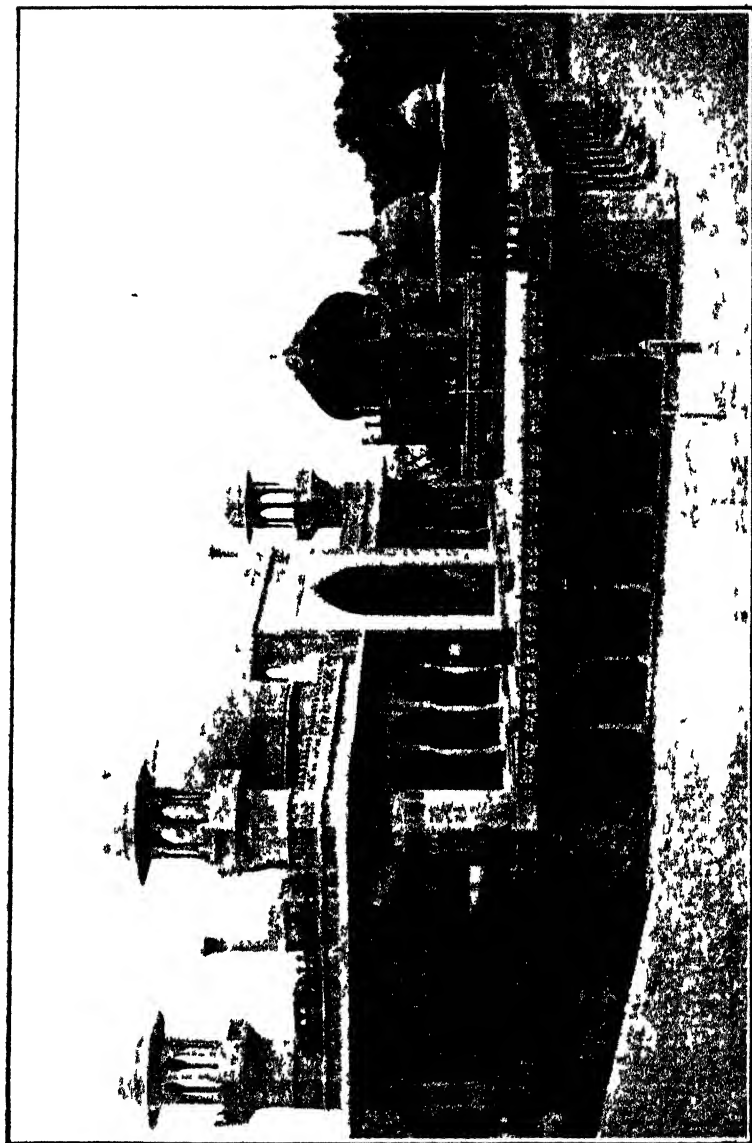
Art. In the realm of architecture and other forms of art it is unquestionable that the works of the highest quality in the Mogul period belonged to the reign of Shāhjahān. The puritan Aurangzēb cared for none of those things. His buildings are insignificant, with one or two exceptions, and the drawings and paintings of his time show deterioration on the whole. Many of Shāhjahān's artists survived into the reign of his son, and some of their productions executed during that reign are not distinguishable from earlier works; but, generally speaking, the atmosphere of Aurangzēb's court was unfavourable to the arts.

Indo-Persian architecture. The Indo-Persian architecture of Akbar and Jahāngīr, beginning with the noble mausoleum of Humāyūn, and including Fathpur-Sīkrī, Sikandara, the tomb of Itimādu-d daula (1628), and many dignified buildings at Lahore and other places, has great merits. It is generally more massive and virile than that of Shāhjahān, but the world is agreed in preferring the Tāj, with its feminine grace, to all its predecessors or successors.

It is impossible to give either descriptions or criticisms of particular buildings in this book. Generally speaking it may be said that the edifices of Shāhjahān are characterized by elegance rather than by strength, and by the lavish use of extraordinarily costly decoration. Marble was preferred to the red sandstone favoured by Akbar and Jahāngīr. The dainty *pietra dura* inlay, borrowed from Florence, and executed in semi-precious stones regardless of expense, was largely substituted for the simpler white marble mosaic or the sandstone carving of the earlier reigns.

The Hindu features so prominent in the buildings of Akbar and Jahāngīr were much diminished, although never wholly discarded.

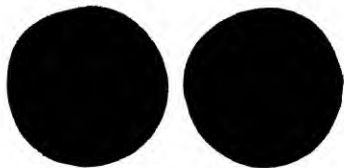
The new city of Delhi called Shāhjahānābād, with its gorgeous palace, was occupied by the court in 1648 some ten years after the beginning of the works. The Tāj, begun in 1632, was completed with all its appurtenances nearly twenty-two years later, in 1653; but the central mausoleum was ready in 1643. The lovely Pearl



FATHIPURI MOSQUE AT TUI INTRAC

Mosque (Motī Masjid) at Agra was finished in 1653, the year which saw the completion of the accessories of the Tāj. The middle of the seventeenth century, therefore, may be taken as the date at which Indo-Persian architecture attained the summit of excellence.

Drawing and painting. The arts of drawing and painting reached their highest point at the same time. The somewhat crude imitations of Persian work current in Akbar's days had gone out of fashion. The artists of Shāhjahān allowed themselves to be largely influenced both by the old Hindu tradition and by study of European pictures. A certain amount of shading was introduced, and a subdued scale of colour was preferred. Many of the artists were endowed with unsurpassed keenness of vision and steadiness of hand. Some were able to use with success a brush consisting of a single squirrel's hair. The portraits of Shāhjahān's time, which are free from the stiffness common in the preceding and succeeding ages, are wonderfully life-like and often perfectly charming.



Rupee of Shāhjahān.

Hindu architecture. The erection of new Hindu temples, frequently of immense size and cost, was freely permitted, or even encouraged, by both Akbar and Jahāngīr. For instance, Rājā Bīr Singh, the murderer of Abu-l Fazl, was allowed to spend 33 lakhs of rupees (= £371,250 at 2s. 3d.) on the Kēsava dēva temple at Mathurā, 'one of the most sumptuous edifices in all India'. Aurangzēb destroyed the building utterly in 1669, and replaced it by a mosque. In 1632 Shāhjahān had prohibited the erection of new temples. No important Hindu building, religious or secular, dates from his reign, so far as I am aware.

Literature. The most valuable part of the literature written in Persian continued to be the historical. Among the many works noticed by Elliot and Dowson or Sarkār the *Bādshāh-nāma* of Abdu-l Hamīd and the *Muntakhabu-l Lubāb* of Khāfī Khān (Muhammad Hāshim of Khwāf¹) may be mentioned specially.

None of the numerous Hindī poets can compare with Tulsī Dās in influence or importance. The most eminent is Bihārī Lāl, the ingenious author of the *Satsai*, completed in 1662.

¹ That is the real meaning of 'Khāfī'. Khwāf is in Khurāsān.

CHRONOLOGY (o.s.)

Reign of Shāhjahān

Death of Jahāngīr	Sunday, Oct. 28, 1627
Enthronement of Shāhjahān	Feb. 1628
Famine in Gujarāt and Deccan	1630-2
Destruction of Khān Jahān Lodi	1631
Death of Mumtāz Mahall	June 17, 1631
Siege of Hūgli, June 24-Sept. 24	1632
Destruction of new Hindu temples	1632
End of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar	1632
Treaties with Golkonda and Bijāpur	1636
Aurangzēb appointed viceroy of Deccan	July 1636
Marriages of Aurangzēb and Dārā Shikoh	1637
Acquisition of Kandahār	1638
Grant of site of Madras to Mr. Day	1639
Accident to Princess Jahānārā, and temporary disgrace of Aurangzēb	1644
Campaign in Badakhshān and Balkh	1645-7
Transfer of capital from Agra to Delhi (Shāhjahānābād)	1648
Kandahār taken by Persians; first siege by Aurangzēb	1649
Second siege of Kandahār by Aurangzēb	1652
Third siege of Kandahār by Dārā Shikoh	1653
Aurangzēb reappointed to Deccan	1653
Demolition of walls of Chitōr	1654
Murshīd Kulī Khān appointed Diwān of the Deccan; siege of Golkonda by Aurangzēb; death of Sudullāh Khān and appointment of Mir Jumla as prime minister; death of Muhammad Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur	1656
Invasion of Bijāpur	March 1657

War of Succession

Illness of Shāhjahān	September 1657
Battle of Bahādurpur, defeat of Shujā	February 1658
Battle of Dharmat, defeat of Jaswant Singh	April 15, 1658
Battle of Samūgarh, defeat of Dārā Shikoh	May 29, 1658
Captivity of Shāhjahān and Murād Bakhsh	June 1658
Informal enthronement of Aurangzēb	July 21, 1658
Battle of Khajwah, defeat of Shujā	January 5, 1659
Battle of Deorāi, defeat of Dārā Shikoh	April 12-14, 1659
Formal enthronement of Aurangzēb	June 1659
Execution of Dārā Shikoh	August 1659
Death of Shujā	May 1660
Betrayal of Sulaimān Shikoh	Dec. 1660

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Society, 1914); and TAVERNIER, transl. and ed. V. Ball (London, Macmillan, 1889).

The following works also have been consulted: DE LAET, *De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India Vera*, including the 'Fragmentum Historiae Indicae' by President VAN DEN BROECKE (Elzevir, 1631, two impressions); GROWSE, Mathurā' (Allahabad, 1883); HOSTEN, 'A Week at the Bandal Convent, Hugli,' in *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. x (Calcutta); *Journal of the Panjāb Historical Society* (J. P. H. S., Lahore and Calcutta); and Sir C. LYALL's article on 'Bihārī Lāl' in *Encycl. Brit.*¹¹

The art of the reign is discussed in *H. F. A.* The coins are described in the official catalogues of the B. M., I. M., and Lahore (Panjāb) Museum, as well as in other publications.

The published inscriptions are listed in HOROWITZ, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (Calcutta, 1912).

CHAPTER 6

Aurangzēb Ālamgīr (1659-1707).

Second enthronement of Aurangzēb. The fate of Aurangzēb's father, brothers, and nephews has been related in the last preceding chapter, although some of the events took place in 1659 and 1660, after his formal assumption of the imperial dignity and titles. He re-entered Delhi in May 1659 and was enthroned for the second time in June with complete ceremonial. His name was then read in the *khutbah*, and coins were issued with his superscription (A.H. 1069). He assumed the title of Ālamgīr, by which he is usually designated in the writings of Muhammadan authors. His earlier title of Aurangzēb being more familiar to European readers has been retained in this work.

The new sovereign at once showed his respect for Muslim usage by discontinuing the Ilāhī era of Akbar, and reverting completely to the Muhammadan lunar calendar, notwithstanding its inconveniences in practice.

Nominal remission of taxes. Like many other newly installed rulers he sought the goodwill of his subjects by abolishing oppressive imposts, which were especially vexatious at the time by reason of a famine of intense severity.¹ He remitted nearly eighty taxes and cesses of various kinds, and issued strict orders prohibiting their collection. But the leading historian of the reign records distinctly that, with one or two exceptions, 'the royal prohibition had no effect', and the local officers continued to collect for their own benefit nearly all the prohibited taxes. In fact, when Khāfi Khān wrote in the reign of Muhammad Shāh, the local officers and landholders used to exact more than ever by way of transit duties, so that goods in transit often had to pay more than double their cost price.

Mir Jumla's war with Assam, 1661-3. Aurangzēb's success

¹ See Tod, i. 310, for a vivid description of the horrors of the famine as experienced in Mewār in Samvat 1717=A. D. 1660-1.

against his rivals had been due in large measure to his alliance with Mīr Jumla. After his accession that officer did further good service by hunting down Shujā and bringing him to his miserable end. The emperor was glad to keep Mīr Jumla in Bengal as governor at a distance from the capital. A raid by the Āhōms of Assam, who captured twenty guns from the commandant of Gauhati, tempted the governor to plunge into the Assamese wilds and dream



SHĀYISTA KHĀN.

of an attack on China. He penetrated the difficult country as far as Ghargāon on the Brahmaputra, but was driven back by heavy rain and the lack of supplies. His experiences during the retreat were similar to those of his early predecessor, Muhammad Khiljī, son of Bakhtiyār, in 1205, and resulted in the almost complete destruction of the invading army, although the invader secured a treaty on nominally favourable terms. Aurangzēb was not sorry when his too powerful subject died in 1663 from the effects of the hardships of the campaign. Mīr Jumla is highly praised for the humanity and justice which he displayed in the conduct of the operations.

Shāyista Khān in Bengal. Mīr Jumla was succeeded in the government of Bengal by Aurangzēb's maternal uncle, Shāyista Khān, who was transferred

from the Deccan in consequence of the events to be related presently. Shāyista Khān continued to govern Bengal for about thirty years (excepting an interval of less than three years, from 1677 to 1680), and died at Agra in 1694, when over ninety years of age. Early in his rule he cleared out the Portuguese pirates who infested the waterways of the Brahmaputra delta, and compelled the king of Arakan to cede the Chittagong (Chatgaon) district (1666).

Visit to Kashmīr. Aurangzēb became seriously ill in the summer of 1664 and went in the following cold weather to Kashmīr in order to restore his health, but he never revisited that country, which he disliked. Bernier, who was in the service of a learned

noble with the title Dānishmand Khān, accompanied the emperor on the march, and arrived in the 'paradise of the Indies' early in 1665. He has recorded an admirable description of the incidents of the march and the objects of interest in the valley.¹ The journey was performed very slowly, the huge camp being detained for more than two months at Lahore in order to await the melting of the snow on the mountains of Kashmīr. The travelling was extremely uncomfortable, and the passage of the Chināb river in particular was a scene of confusion and danger. A horrid accident occurred in the Pīr Panjal Pass, when one of the elephants carrying the ladies stepped back and forced the animals behind him over the precipice, to the number of fifteen. Only three or four of the women were killed. Some of the elephants were observed to be still alive two days later.

Respite of the Deccan. In 1657, when the serious illness of Shāhjahān became known, Aurangzēb, who was then Viceroy of the Deccan, was within measurable distance of effecting the destruction of the sultanates of Bijāpur and Golkonda, which he ardently desired. The ensuing war of succession gave those much harried states a respite and enabled them to prolong their existence for nearly thirty years. But, meantime, Bijāpur suffered many losses from the operations of Sivājī, a young Marāthā chieftain, son of Shāhji Bhonslē, originally an officer of the Ahmadnagar State, who had transferred his services to Bijāpur, a few years before the Nizām Shāhī kingdom was annexed to the empire.

Early life of Sivājī. Sivājī, who was born in 1627, began operations in a small way as a robber chief in Bijāpur territory, while still a boy, and took his own line, without consulting his father, in whose *jāgir* the irregular proceedings took place. Shāhji, however, who could not escape suspicion of having abetted his unruly son, suffered in consequence four years' confinement at Bijāpur, and was in imminent danger of losing his life. The young adventurer, when only nineteen years of age, made his first important advance by gaining possession of a hill-fort named Torna, about twenty miles to the south-west of Poona. He gathered round him the men of the hills in the Western Ghāts called Māwalis, who are described as an 'uncouth, backward, and stupid race'. But, however mentally defective they might be, they were well adapted to serve Sivājī's purposes, because they were hardy, brave, and intensely devoted to their new leader. They knew

¹ The dates are conclusively fixed in detail by Bernier in his letters to M. de Merveilles, the first being dated December 14, 1664, probably in N. S. He marched on the night of that day (ed. Constable and V. A. Smith, 1914, p. 350). Irvine (*Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 76) erroneously gives the date of Aurangzēb's illness as from May to August 1662, and that of the visit to Kashmīr as extending from December 1662 to October 1663. The error of two years committed by a writer so careful as Irvine is instructive, especially as it occurs in an essay designed to settle the obscure chronology of the reign. Lane-Poole gives the correct date. Sarkar (iii. 12) adopts the wrong date 1662, and makes no reference to Bernier.

every path and rock in their native wilds and could pit their knowledge of woodcraft against the military training of their Muslim enemies. Their ability to climb cliffs like monkeys specially fitted them for success in a war which was mainly devoted to the capture of the steeply scarped hill-forts so numerous in their country. Fort after fort yielded to the young chieftain, who built other strongholds on his own account. He next turned his attention to the Konkan, the rich strip of broken ground between the crest



SIVAJI.

of the mountains and the sea. One of his officers gained possession of the important town of Kalyān in that region. In 1655 Sivājī committed an atrocious crime by directing the treacherous murder of the Rājā of Jāolī, who had refused to join him in rebellion.

Murder and defeat of Afzal Khān. The Bijāpur authorities, being otherwise occupied, had not paid much attention so far to the operations of Sivājī. But, in 1659, while Aurangzēb was still busy securing his throne, they thought that the time had come to suppress the audacious rebel. An imposing army, numbering about ten thousand men and equipped with mountain guns, was organized and dis-

patched under the command of Afzal Khān, a brave and experienced officer. Sivājī, not being capable of meeting his foe in the field, opened negotiations, and a Brahman envoy was sent by the Musalman general to his adversary. The envoy played the traitor, permitting his sympathies as a Hindu to outweigh his duty to his master. The Brahman and Sivājī so arranged a plot to inveigle Afzal Khān into an interview at which he could be killed with little risk to the Marāthā. Afzal Khān fell into the trap readily, and, accompanied only by a single Sayyid officer, advanced close to Partābgarh and met Sivājī, who also had but one companion, Tānājī Mālusrē. The Marāthā professed the most abject submission and threw himself weeping at the general's feet. When Afzal Khān stooped to raise him and embrace him in the customary manner, Sivājī wounded him in the belly with a horrid weapon called 'tiger's claw', which he held hidden in his left hand, and followed up the blow by a stab from a dagger concealed in his sleeve. The treacherous attack succeeded perfectly, and the Marāthās ambushed in the surrounding jungles destroyed Afzal Khān's army. Among the immense amount of spoil taken four thousand good horses were specially welcome.¹

¹ For the details I follow Mānkar, *The Life and Exploits of Sivājī*, 2nd

Shāyista Khān. Bījāpur never succeeded in retrieving the disaster, and Sivājī was left free to turn his arms against the more formidable Mogul power. In 1660 Aurangzēb, although still much occupied personally in the north, found it necessary to send Shāyista Khān, his maternal uncle, to the Deccan. The new commander did not know how to deal with his wily foe. Every day and on every march, we are told, the hill-men fell upon his baggage and carried off whatever they could secure. Shāyista Khān retired to Poona for the rainy season, taking precautions which he fondly imagined were sufficient to secure him from attack. But the cunning Marāthā was too much for him. Sivājī himself, attended by a few trusty followers, managed by means of clever stratagems to penetrate into the lodging of Shāyista Khān, who narrowly escaped death and was thankful to get off with the loss of three fingers and of his son. The humiliated general was obliged to ask for his recall. His request was granted, and he was posted to Bengal, as already stated.

Prince Muazzam and Rājā Jai Singh. Aurangzēb replaced him by his own son, Prince Muazzam, with whom was associated in the command Rājā Jai Singh of Jaipur, who was supposed to be a suitable person to deal with a Hindu enemy. But the new generals were as helpless as their predecessor had been, and were unable even to protect the rich port of Surat, which was plundered at the beginning of 1664 with ruthless cruelty. The Rājā, who had always maintained more or less friendly relations with Sivājī, persuaded him to surrender to the imperial authority in 1665. The Marāthā went to court under Jai Singh's protection and was received by Aurangzēb at Agra, but refused to comply with the rules of etiquette, and resented being treated merely as 'a commander (*mansabdār*) of 5,000', instead of as a sovereign prince. He was, consequently, kept under surveillance, from which he managed to escape with the connivance of Rām Singh, a son of Jai Singh, returning in safety to his own country in December 1666, after many adventures. His absence had lasted nine months.¹

Rājā Jai Singh died in 1667, while still in the Deccan, having been poisoned by his son, Kīrat Singh, probably at the instigation of Aurangzēb, who publicly rejoiced at the news of the Rājā's death. He felt that the decease of his leading Hindu officer gave him greater liberty in his policy of persecution. He availed himself of the liberty so gained by destroying the gigantic temple at Mathurā.

ed., Bombay, 1886; a valuable little book, now almost unprocurable; and also Grant Duff.

¹ According to some authorities Aurangzēb received Sivājī at Delhi, but Agra certainly is correct. The *Tārīkh-i Marāthah* MS. in the I. O., as I learn from an unpublished essay by Mr. Zāhiru-d dīn Fārūkī, states that Sivājī displayed extreme conceit, refused to make obeisance, struck the chamberlain, and actually sat down in the imperial presence. Other accounts of the incident exist. Sivājī certainly considered himself to have been insulted at the audience.

Prince Muazzam and Rājā Jaswant Singh. The replacement of Jai Singh by Rājā Jaswant Singh of Mārwar (Jodhpur), who had served previously in the Deccan, did not effect any improvement in the situation of the imperialists. Both the Rājā and his colleague Prince Muazzam accepted large sums of money from Sivāji and deliberately abstained from effective operations. They even persuaded Aurangzēb to grant Sivāji the title of Rājā in 1667.¹ The Marāthā power continued to increase steadily, and the newly appointed Rājā was left at liberty to devote the years 1668 and 1669 chiefly to the organization of the internal arrangements of his Government. In 1670 active hostilities were resumed, and in December of that year Sivāji's officers exacted from the local authorities of certain places in Khāndēsh written promises to pay to Sivāji or his deputies one-fourth of the yearly revenue due to Government.

'Regular receipts were promised on the part of Sivāji, which should not only exempt them from pillage, but ensure them protection. Hence we may date the first imposition of Marāthā *chauth* on a province immediately subject to the Moguls.'²

That scandalous submission to blackmail is conclusive proof of the feebleness of Aurangzēb's Government even early in his reign. His administration, in truth, never was successful at any date during the half-century of his rule. In October of the same year Sivāji had again plundered the city of Surat for three days in a leisurely fashion, but was not able to damage the European factories.

Jāt rebellions. Grave disorders occurred close to the capital. Early in 1669 the Jāt peasantry of the Mathurā District rebelled under the leadership of a man named Gokulā, and killed the imperial *faujdar* or commandant, a zealous Musalmān, who had been in the service of Shāhjahān. A big battle ensued in which the rebels lost five thousand and the imperialists four thousand men. Severe measures restored quiet in the following year, but the trouble was renewed in 1681 and again in 1688, from which date it continued to the end of the reign.³ We have seen how in 1691 the rebels inflicted the gravest possible affront on their enemy the emperor by plundering the sepulchre of his ancestor Akbar and burning his bones. When such scenes could occur close to Agra it is no wonder that the control of the Government over the Deccan provinces was feeble in the extreme.

Satnāmī insurrection. In this connexion mention may be made of an insurrection by the members of a Hindu sect called Satnāmī which occurred in the fifteenth year of the reign, A.D. 1672.⁴ The sectarians are described by Khāfi Khān as 'a gang of bloody miserable rebels, goldsmiths, carpenters, sweepers,

¹ Grant Duff, ed. 1826, i. 220.

² Grant Duff, *ibid.*, p. 249.

³ Professor J. Sarkar in *Modern Review*, April 1916, pp. 383-92.

⁴ Elphinstone gives the name erroneously as Satnarāmī, and in the margin of ed. 5 the date is stated wrongly as 1676. The term *satnāmī* means 'devotees of the true Name', *scil.* God.

tanners, and other ignoble beings', who had their head-quarters at the town of Nārnaul, now in the Patiāla State. The insurgents, who numbered about 5,000, took possession of Nārnaul, and being persuaded that they were proof against human weapons fought with desperation. After some time they were defeated with great slaughter, few escaping the sword. The losses of the imperialist troops also were considerable, in spite of the charms consisting of extracts from the Korān which the emperor wrote out with his own hand and caused to be affixed to the standards of his officers.

Afghans and Sikhs. Nearly at the same time the imperial troops were engaged in difficult operations against the Afghan tribes, in the course of which the advantage usually lay with the tribes. Tegh Bahādur, the ninth Sikh guru, was executed in 1675 because he refused to accept Islām. The famous prophecy attributed to him will be quoted in the next chapter.

Coronation of Sivājī. Continued success emboldened Sivājī to claim for himself a dignity more exalted than the rank of a titular Rājā conferred at the pleasure of Aurangzēb. He aspired to the position of an independent king ruling in his own right, and not in virtue of delegation by a suzerain. In pursuance of his ambition he took his seat on the throne at his fortress of Rāigarh in June 1674, with all possible solemnity, and established a new era dating from his enthronement. Mr. Henry Oxinden, who had been sent from Bombay to negotiate a commercial treaty with the Marāthās, happened to be present at the festivities, of which he recorded an account.¹

Southern conquests of Sivājī. In 1676 Sivājī planned and began to execute operations, described by Grant Duff as 'the most important expedition of his life'. His design was to recover the southern *jāgīrs* which had been held under the Bijāpur Government by his father and were still partly in the hands of Sivājī's younger brother, Vyankājī (Venkajee). Sivājī, at the head of a powerful force, visited Golkonda (Hyderabad), where he succeeded in inducing the Sultan to become his ally and lend him a train of artillery. Proceeding south he took the strong fortress of Jinjī (Gingee) in South Arcot, with Vellore and other important places, compelling his brother to surrender a half-share in the Tanjore principality. On his way home Sivājī captured Bellary, and a little later entered into alliance with his old enemy the Sultan of Bijāpur, thereby relieving the pressure exercised on the kingdom by the Mogul armies. The success of the Marāthā leader had been secured in large measure by Aurangzēb's entanglement in the hostilities with the Afghan tribes on the north-western frontier, which lasted until 1678, when peace was arranged.

Sarkar remarks with justice that

'ruinous as the Afghan war was to imperial finances, its political effect was even more harmful. It made the employment of Afghans in the

¹ Grant Duff, i. 263. Oxinden's narrative is inserted in Fryer's book, *A New Account*, &c., vol. i, pp. 198-210.

ensuing Rajput war impossible, though Afghans were just the class of soldiers who could have won victory for the imperialists in that rugged and barren country [Rājputāna]. Moreover, it relieved the pressure on Shivaji by draining the Deccan of the best Mughal troops for service on the N. W. frontier.¹

Death of Sivājī. The victorious career of the Marāthā chieftain was ended by his death after a short illness at Rāigarh in the fifty-third year of his age. His decease, which was concealed for a time, probably occurred on April 5 (o. s.), 1680.¹ His countrymen believed that his passing was marked by the simultaneous appearance of a comet and a lunar rainbow, as well as by an earthquake; but, as a matter of fact, Newton's comet, the one referred to, was not visible in India until November. Before proceeding with the narrative of the events of Aurangzēb's reign, it is desirable to give a short account of the institutions of Sivājī, and to attempt an appreciation of the qualities which enabled him to become the creator of a new nation and to take a commanding part in the history of his times.

The Marāthā country. Mahārāshtra, or the Marāthā country, in which the Marāthā language is the prevailing tongue, is most compendiously defined by Elphinstone as

'lying between the range of mountains which stretches along the south of the Nerbādā [*scil.* the Sātpura], parallel to the Vindhya chain, and a line drawn from Goa, on the sea-coast, through Bidar to 'hānda on the Warda. That river is its boundary on the east, as the sea is on the west.'

The prominent feature of the country is the range of the Western Ghāts. The mountains are so formed that the flat summits are protected by walls of smooth rock, constituting natural fortresses, which various princes, throughout many centuries, had converted by elaborate fortification into strongholds almost impregnable against the means of assault available in ancient times. Most of the hill-tops are well provided with water.

The Marāthā people. The Marāthā people do not play a conspicuous part in early history.

The Brahmans of Mahārāshtra, especially the Chitpāwan section of the Konkan—the narrow strip of broken, rugged country between the crest of the Ghāts and the sea—are an extremely intelligent class, to which the Pēshwās belonged.

The bulk of the people would be classed according to the theory of Manu as Sūdras. Elphinstone's description is the best:

'Though the Marāthās had never appeared in history as a nation, they had as strongly marked a character as if they had always formed a united commonwealth. Though more like to the lower orders in Hindostan than to their southern neighbours in Kanara and Telingāna, they could never for a moment be confounded with either. They are small sturdy men, well made, though not handsome. They are all active,

¹ April 5 is the date according to Grant Duff and Orme. Fryer gives June 1 (iii. 167, with Crooke's note). Mānkar (p. 111) states the Hindu equivalent date as Sunday, Chait 15, 1602 Saka, in the Rudra year. But, according to chronological tables, April 5, 1680, was Monday.

laborious, hardy, and persevering. If they have none of the pride and dignity of the Rājput, they have none of their indolence or want of worldly wisdom. A Rājput warrior, as long as he does not dishonour his race, seems almost indifferent to the result of any contest he is engaged in. A Marāthā thinks of nothing *but* the result, and cares little for the means, if he can attain his object. For this purpose he will strain his wits, renounce his pleasures, and hazard his person; but he has not a conception of sacrificing his life, or even his interest, for a point of honour. This difference of sentiment affects the outward appearance of the two nations; there is something noble in the carriage even of an ordinary Rājput, and something vulgar in that of the most distinguished Marāthā.

The Rājput is the most worthy antagonist—the Marāthā the most formidable enemy; for he will not fail in boldness and enterprise when they are indispensable, and will always support them, or supply their place, by stratagem, activity, and perseverance. All this applies chiefly to the soldiery, to whom more bad qualities might fairly be ascribed. The mere husbandmen are sober, frugal, and industrious, and, though they have a dash of the national cunning, are neither turbulent nor insincere.

The chiefs, in those days, were men of families who had for generations filled the old Hindu offices of heads of villages or functionaries of districts, and had often been employed as partisans under the governments of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur. They were all Sūdras, of the same cast with their people, though some tried to raise their consequence by claiming an infusion of Rājput blood.

Sivāji's environment. Such was the country to which Sivāji belonged, and such were the people whose virtues and vices he shared. His father, Shāhji, a member of the Bhonslē family or clan, was one of the class of chiefs mentioned by Elphinstone, and, as already noted, had passed from the service of Ahmadnagar to that of Bijāpur. Sivāji's mother, Jijī Bai, came from a family of higher social rank. She was an intensely devout Hindu, and by her example and teaching did much to stimulate the zeal of her famous son in defence of Brahmans, cows, and caste, the three principal objects of Hindu veneration. The devotion of the young chief was fostered by the Marāthī poets, Rāmdās and Tukārām, with whom he lived on terms of close communion. The former was his chosen guide, philosopher, and friend; while the latter, who refused to come to his disciple's court, impressed on the mind of Sivāji the mystic doctrines which form the main subject of Hindu poetry.

'There is one Truth in the world: there is one Soul in all Being. Pin thy faith to This Soul, see thyself mirrored in Rāmdās: Do this, O Prince, and thou and the whole world shall be blest therein; thy fame will pervade the Universe, saith Tukā.'

The more practical Rāmdās pointed out to his royal pupil the duties of kingship as he conceived them:

'Gods and Cows, Brahmans and the Faith, these are to be protected: therefore God has raised you up. . . .

In all the earth there is not another who can save the Faith; a remnant of the Faith you have saved. . . .

When the Faith is dead, death is better than life; why live when

Religion has perished? Gather the Marāthās together, make religion live again: our fathers laugh at us from Heaven!'¹

The poet's pious opinion that

Treachery should be blotted out

reads strangely when contrasted with his ode of congratulation on the treacherous murder of Afzal Khān. But Marāthā sentiment, which recked nothing of the means employed to attain a pious and patriotic end, had no censure to pass on the slayer of the impious Muslim, who, when on his way to the place appointed for him to die, was alleged to have foully defiled the most sacred shrines of the people whom he despised. The Marāthās, including Sivāji and the mother whom he adored, believed with one accord that their patron goddess sanctioned the execution of their oppressor even by treacherous means, which rightly shock the conscience of more scrupulous critics. The suggestion made in some of the Marāthā writings that Afzal Khān tempted fate by meditating the assassination of Sivāji is not in accordance with the ascertained facts. The troops of the Muhammadan general were kept out of the way, while the forest round the meeting-place swarmed with hidden Marāthās awaiting their chief's signal.

Sivāji, later in life when proceeding on his daring southern expedition in 1676, exhibited a marked access of religious fervour, and is reported to have even meditated the sacrifice of his own life in a temple, after the manner formerly common in the south,

The power of Sivāji over his people rested at least as much on his intense devotion to the cause of Hinduism as on his skill in the special kind of warfare which he affected, or on his capacity for organization. Indeed, it is safe to affirm that his religious zeal was the most potent factor in arousing the sentiment of nationality which inspired his lowly countrymen to defy the Mogul legions.

One of those countrymen proudly declares that

'the king was no doubt an incarnation of the Deity. . . . No such hero was ever born, nor will there be any in the days to come.'

Sivāji's special virtues. The foregoing observations go a long way towards explaining the personal influence wielded by Sivāji and his conspicuous success, both as a robber chief in the early part of his career and as the responsible ruler of a kingdom in his latter years. But they do not exhaust the subject. Sivāji possessed and practised certain special virtues which nobody would have expected to find in a man occupying his position in his time and surroundings.

It is a curious fact that the fullest account of those special virtues is to be found in the pages of the Muhammadan historian, Khāfi Khān, who ordinarily writes of Sivāji as 'the reprobate', 'a sharp son of the devil', 'a father of fraud', and so forth. An author who habitually applies such terms of abuse to his subject cannot be suspected of undue partiality towards him. Neverthe-

¹ Rawlinson, *Shivāji the Marāthā*, 1915, pp. 113-22.

less Khāfi Khān honours himself as well as Sivājī by the following passage :

'Ādil Khān of Bijāpur, on hearing of this [Afzal Khān's] defeat, sent another army against Sivājī, under the command of Rustam Khān, one of his best generals. An action was fought near the fort of Parnāla, and Rustam Khān was defeated.

In fine, Fortune so favoured this treacherous worthless man that his forces increased, and he grew more powerful every day. He erected new forts, and employed himself in settling his own territories, and in plundering those of Bijāpur. He attacked the caravans which came from distant ports, and appropriated to himself the goods and women. But he made it a rule that wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of any one. Whenever a copy of the sacred Kurān came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his Musalmān followers. When the women of any Hindu or Muhammadan were taken prisoners by his men, and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them until their relations came with a suitable ransom to buy their liberty. Whenever he found out that a woman was a slave-girl, he looked upon her as being the property of her master, and appropriated her to himself. He laid down the rule that whenever a place was plundered, the goods of poor people, copper money, and vessels of brass and copper, should belong to the man who found them ; but other articles, gold and silver, coined or uncoined, gems, valuable stuffs and jewels, were not to belong to the finder, but were to be given up without the smallest deduction to the officers, and to be by them paid over to Sivājī's government.'

His army differed from all other Indian armies of the period, and even from the Anglo-Indian armies of Wellesley's time, in its complete freedom from the curse of female followers.

'No man in the army was to take with him wife, mistress, or prostitute ; one who infringed this rule was to lose his head.'

Discipline was strictly maintained, and death was the penalty for either disobedience of orders or grave neglect of duty.

Organization of the army. The army, which originally consisted of infantry only, was organized in a sensible fashion with a due gradation of officers. The lowest rank of officer was that of *naik*, or corporal, who commanded a squad of ten men. Above him were the *havildār*, or sergeant, the *jumladdār*, or captain of a company, the battalion commander, and the brigade commander, or brigadier. The brigade was reckoned as 5,000 men. The commander-in-chief was styled Sarnobat or Senāpati. When cavalry was introduced there was sometimes a separate chief for that arm. The troopers comprised *bargirs*, mounted by the state, and *silāhdars* (*sillidars*), who provided their own horses. Sivājī disliked the *jāgīr* system, and preferred to pay his officers' salaries from the treasury. The garrisons of the forts were carefully constituted, and special precautions were taken against the risk of the commandants being corrupted. The forts played a very important part in Sivājī's kingdom, and required all possible care. Regular drill was not practised, but in that respect Sivājī's army was no worse than that of any rival power. The army retired into quarters for

the rainy season, when military operations in Mahārāshtra are almost impossible.¹ The campaigning season began in accordance with Hindu practice by a grand review held at the Dasahra festival in October, and lasted until about April.

A considerable fleet was built and stationed at Kolāba, in order to check the power of the Sīdī or Abyssinian pirate chiefs of Janjīra and to plunder the rich Mogul ships.

Civil administration. Much of the revenue of the Marāthā state was derived from simple robbery, and another large portion came from payments in the nature of blackmail made by districts under the government of other powers which desired protection from plunder. The army was organized primarily for the purpose of plunder, and not so much for the extension of territory directly administered. The principal blackmail payment was called *chauth*, or 'the fourth', being one-quarter of the authorized land revenue assessment of the district claiming protection. We have seen how as early as 1670 a portion of Khāndēsh, although imperial territory, was compelled to submit to the payment of *chauth*. Sometimes an extra tenth, called *sardēsmukhī*, was extorted. The details were purposely made as intricate as possible, so that nobody except the professional Marāthā Brahman accountants could understand them. All clerical and account work was in Brahman hands. The fighting Marāthās, including Sivājī himself, ordinarily refused to learn the arts of reading, writing, and ciphering, which they considered unworthy of a soldier.

The kingdom or principality under the direct rule of Sivājī at the time of his death in 1680, although considerable, was not very extensive. The home territory consisted of a long narrow strip comprising chiefly the Western Ghāts and the Konkan between Kalyān, now in the Thāna District, and Goa, with some districts to the east of the mountains, the extreme breadth from east to west being about a hundred miles. The provinces or districts in the far south, and shared with Sivājī's brother, Vyankājī (Venkajee), were scattered in a fashion not easily definable. Sivājī's civil institutions applied only to the territories under his direct rule.

The government. The government of the kingdom was conducted by the Rājā, aided by a council of eight ministers, of whom the chief was the Pēshwā, or prime minister. The other members held departmental charges, such as finance, foreign affairs, and so forth. They included a Shāstrī, or officer whose duty it was to expound Hindu law, to deal with matters of religion, criminal jurisdiction, and astrology. The whole administration was based on the principles of the Hindu scriptures or *shāstras*. The eight ministers usually were actually employed on military business, the work of their offices at the capital being performed by deputies. Each district officer similarly had eight principal subordinate officials, to deal with correspondence, accounts, and the treasury.

¹ The older European writers call the rainy season in western India 'the winter'.

Civil disputes were settled in the immemorial Hindu fashion by a *panchāyat*, or jury of neighbours.

Revenue system. The revenue system was based on the practice of Dādāji Konadēo, Sivāji's early instructor. Farming of the revenues was stopped, and the assessment was made on the crop, the normal share of the state being two-fifths. But the Rājā's districts had suffered terribly from constant war, and Sivāji never had sufficient leisure to complete his revenue arrangements as a working system. The English traveller, Dr. Fryer (1673), paints an unpleasant picture of his government as in actual operation. Writing from Goa he speaks of Vengurla, now in the Ratnagiri District, as being under the 'tyrannical government of Sivāji'; and with reference to Kārwar, the important port in North Kanara, then recently occupied by the Marāthās, observes :

'It is a general calamity and much to be deplored to hear the complaints of the poor people that remain, or are rather compelled to endure the slavery of Sivāji. The Desāis [headmen of districts or petty chiefs] have land imposed upon them at double the former rates, and if they refuse to accept it on these hard conditions (if monied men) they are carried off to prison, there they are famished almost to death; racked and tortured most inhumanly till they confess where it is. They have now in limbo several Brahmans, whose flesh they tear with pincers heated red-hot, drub them on the shoulders to extreme anguish (though according to their law it is forbidden to strike a Brahman). This is the accustomed sauce all India over, the princes doing the same by the governors when removed from their offices, to squeeze their ill-gotten estates out of them; which when they have done, it may be they may be employed again. And after this fashion the Desāis deal with the Kunbis [an agricultural caste]; so that the great fish prey on the little, as well by land as by sea, bringing not only them but their families into eternal bondage.

However, under the King of Bijāpur the taxations were much milder, and they lived with far greater comfort.'

The robber State. Similarly, when the first sack of Surat occurred in 1664, an Englishman named Smith saw Sivāji seated in a tent and employed in ordering the cutting off the heads and hands of those who concealed their wealth. No reason exists for branding that statement by an eyewitness as 'a gross exaggeration'.² Sivāji, when gathering plunder, behaved as Indian dacoits and banditti always have done, and still do, although his barbarities were mitigated by certain chivalrous practices already noted, which may be ascribed with probability to the teaching of Tukārām. Hindus are prone to worship power as such, and Sivāji's brilliant success alone would have sufficed to win popular veneration. When that success was combined with intense devotion to the gods, reverent liberality to Brahmans, and protection to cows, the brave and victorious leader was well qualified to be considered an incarnation of the deity. But the fact that Sivāji possessed

¹ *A New Account*, ed. Crooke, vol. ii, p. 3, but printed in modern fashion.

² Rawlinson, p. 98 note. The statement is quoted by Grant Duff (i. 199 note) from a most minute description in the records of the E. I. Company in London. See *Times Lit. Suppl.*, March 20, May 15, 1919.

and practised certain unexpected virtues must not obscure the truth that he was in the first instance a robber chieftain, who inflicted untold misery on hundreds of thousands of innocent people, Hindus and Muhammadans alike, merely for the sake of gain, using without scruple all kinds of cruelty and treachery to attain his wicked ends. The Marāthā state at any stage, whether during Sivājī's lifetime, or in its later developments under the Peshwās and the chiefs who replaced them as leaders, never served any good purpose or conferred any benefit upon India, except in so far as it gratified Hindu sentiment in the particular ways above stated. The Marāthā independent rule in all its varieties until 1818 was the rule of professed robbers.

A change. It is hardly necessary to add that that description does not apply in any degree to the government of the Marāthā States as they now exist. A marvellous change has been wrought in the course of a century. Sindia, Holkar, and the Gaikwār of the present day differ from their predecessors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as much as a great Scots noble in the service of King George V differs from his cattle-lifting ancestor. The Marāthā States are now sufficiently well administered, and their chiefs are pillars of the empire. The habits of the people, like those of their rulers, have been transformed, and the king's peace is never seriously broken.

Prohibition of histories. It is now time to quit the Deccan for a while and return to Aurangzēb in Hindostan. Some transactions in that region have been already noticed. A foolish order of the emperor in the eleventh year of the reign (A.D. 1668-9) put a stop to the compilation of the official annals maintained so carefully by his predecessors, and also forbade the publication of histories by private persons. The motive for the order seems to have been a morbid humility. Khāfi Khān, the principal authority for the reign, was seriously embarrassed in his pursuit of historical truth by the effects of the prohibition, experiencing much difficulty in determining the order of events during forty years. The period extending from the eleventh to the twenty-first regnal year in particular presented special difficulties.

The narratives of contemporary European travellers and the researches of modern scholars have done much to clear up the obscurity of which Khāfi Khān complained, but considerable uncertainty as to the precise order of events still remains. Readers should not assume that the dates adopted in this book are erroneous merely because they may differ from those given by Elphinstone or other historians of repute.

Aurangzēb a puritan. Aurangzēb was a Muslim puritan. He desired that his empire should be a land of orthodox Sunnī Islām, administered in accordance with the rules laid down by the early Khalīfs.¹ His conscience impelled him to take up that position, and he was willing to incur any political danger or loss of revenue rather than forgo his ideal. Authors who accuse Aurangzēb of

¹ See, for instance, letter xciv in Bilimoria's translation.

sanctimonious hypocrisy and feigning religious sentiments which he did not feel in his heart are mistaken, in my judgement. Although his religion did not hinder him from committing actions in the field of statecraft which are repugnant to the moral sense of mankind, his creed, as a creed, was held in all sincerity, and he did his best to live up to it. He resembled most other autocrats in assuming that the rules of morality do not apply to matters of state. There is no reason to suppose that he felt any remorse for his treatment of his father, and it is certain that his conscience was perfectly easy concerning the penalties which he inflicted on his brothers, sons, and other relatives. The safety of the state, as identified with the maintenance of his personal authority, was sufficient justification in his eyes for acts which we are disposed to call unfeeling crimes. Those acts in no way conflicted with his religious convictions.

Destruction of temples. In 1669, when he had been firmly seated on the throne for some ten years, and Rājā Jai Singh was dead, he felt himself at liberty to act on his theory of government more thoroughly than he had been able to do at first. We are informed by a credible author that on April 18, 1669 (Zulk'ada, 17, A.H. 1079) the emperor was shocked by the receipt of reports that in the provinces of Thathah, Multān, and Benares, but more especially in the last-named, Brahmans dared to give public lectures on their scriptures which even attracted Muhammadan students from distant places. Such open propaganda of Hindu idolatry seemed to Aurangzēb a scandal. Accordingly, commands were issued 'to all the governors of provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels; and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practice of idolatrous forms of worship'.

Five months later the local officers reported that in accordance with the imperial command the temple of Bishannāth (*sic*) at Benares had been destroyed.

After a short interval (in Ramazān of the year A.H. 1080) Aurangzēb had the satisfaction of learning that the magnificent temple of Kēsava dēva at Mathurā had been levelled with the ground. It was one of the noblest buildings in India, and had been erected in the reign of Jahāngīr by Rājā Bīr Singh Bundēla, the murderer of Abu-l Fazl, at a cost of 33 lākhs of rupees, or £371,250. The foundation of a large and costly mosque was laid on the site.

'Glory be to God,' exclaims the historian, 'who has given us the faith of Islām, that in the reign of the destroyer of false gods, an undertaking so difficult of accomplishment has been brought to a successful termination! The vigorous support given to the true faith was a severe blow to the arrogance of the Rājās, and like idols they turned their faces awe-struck to the wall. The richly-jewelled idols taken from the pagan temples were transferred to Agra, and there placed beneath the steps leading to the Nawāb Bēgam Sāhib's mosque, in order that they might ever be pressed under foot by the true believers. Mathurā changed its name into Islāmābād, and was thus called in all official documents, as well as by the people.'¹

¹ The dates for the demolition of temples are precisely fixed by the

Aurangzēb was far too intelligent to be blind to the political consequences of his action. He deliberately threw away the confidence and support of the Rājās in order to carry out his religious policy, thinking the spiritual gain to outweigh the material loss.

Beginning of the Rājput war. Rājā Jaswant Singh of Mārwar (Jodhpur), after his failure in the Deccan, had been sent in disgrace to the west of the Indus, a region abhorred by Hindus, and was appointed to the small post of commandant of Jamrūd at the mouth of the Khyber. Towards the close of 1678 he died, having been poisoned by order of Aurangzēb, if Tod and Manucci may be believed. The emperor thought that his disappearance offered a good opportunity for further progress in the policy of abasing the Rājās and Hindus generally. Two posthumous sons of Jaswant Singh having been born at Lahore, Aurangzēb made an attempt to seize the infants, which was frustrated by the gallantry of their Rājput guard, who sacrificed their lives to effect the escape of the children. The mother claimed the protection of Mewār (Udaipur), which was readily granted by the reigning Rānā, Rāj Singh. War then began between the imperialists and the clans of Mewār and Mārwar, but Ambēr (Jaipur) continued to support the imperial cause. Aurangzēb moved to Ajmēr early in 1679 and usually resided there for more than two years, until September 1681.¹

Reimposition of the *jizya*. The death of Jaswant Singh emboldened the imperial bigot to reimpose the hated *jizya*, or poll-tax on non-Muslims, which Akbar had wisely abolished early in his reign. Aurangzēb's objects are defined by Khāfi Khān as the curbing of the infidels and the demonstration of the distinction between a land of Islām and a land of the unbelievers.

A nobly worded protest, too long to quote in full, but deserving of commemoration by extracts, was sent to the emperor about this time.

The writer, having recited the tolerant conduct of Akbar, Jahāngir, and Shāhjahān, proceeds :

'Such were the benevolent intentions of your ancestors. Whilst they pursued these great and generous principles, wheresoever they directed their steps, conquest and prosperity went before them; and then they reduced many countries and fortresses to their obedience. During your majesty's reign, many have been alienated from the empire, and further loss of territory must necessarily follow, since devastation and rapine now universally prevail without restraint. Your subjects are trampled under foot, and every province of your empire is impoverished, depopulation spreads, and difficulties accumulate. . . .

Ma'āsir-i Ālamgīrī in *E. & D.*, vii. 183. Aurangzēb's mosque, the Ālamgīrī Masjid, is the most prominent building in Benares, and occupies the site of the Saiva Visvesvara temple destroyed in 1669, erroneously called Bishannāth by the Muhammadan author. The name of Islāmābād has been long disused. For the temple of Kēsava dēva see Growse, *Mathurā*², Allahabad, 1883.

¹ The detailed chronology of the Rājput war is given by Sarkar, vol. iii, App. ix.

If Your Majesty places any faith in those books by distinction called divine, you will there be instructed that God is the God of all mankind, not the God of Muhammadans alone. The Pagan and the Musalmān are equally in His presence. Distinctions of colour are of his ordination. It is He who gives existence. In your temples, to His name the voice is raised in prayer; in a house of images, when the bell is shaken, still He is the object of adoration. To vilify the religion or customs of other men is to set at naught the pleasure of the Almighty. When we deface a picture we naturally incur the resentment of the painter; and justly has the poet said, "Presume not to arraign or scrutinize the various works of power divine."

In fine, the tribute you demand from the Hindus is repugnant to justice; it is equally foreign from good policy, as it must impoverish the country; moreover, it is an innovation and an infringement of the laws of Hindostan.¹

The testimony of the writer to the general misery caused by the misgovernment of Aurangzēb during the earlier years of his reign deserves particular notice. Rājputāna suffered all the horrors of war in their most extreme form; because the Rānā, who had retired to the western hills, devastated the plains in order to hamper the progress of the invader, while the Mogul armies destroyed the little that was left.

Temples were demolished wholesale with fanatical fury. For example, in May 1679, Khān Jahān Bahādur received warm praise from Aurangzēb for bringing from Jodhpur several cartloads of idols taken from temples which had been razed. The images were treated in the most insulting ways possible, 'until at last not a vestige of them was left'. During the campaign of 1679-80 enormous damage was wrought among the shrines of Rājputāna. At or near Udaipur 123, and at Chitōr in the same state 63 temples were overthrown. The friendly state of Ambēr (Jaipur) was treated with equal severity and suffered the loss of 66 temples. Thus, in two states, no less than 252 shrines were destroyed in one year. Many other figures will be found in Sarkar's *History*. Clearly it is no exaggeration to affirm that Aurangzēb in the course of his long reign caused the demolition of thousands of temples, inflicting irreparable injury on the monuments of ancient civilization and on

¹ The authorship of the letter lies between Rānā Rāj Singh, favoured by Tod, and Sivāji, to whom Professor Sarkar ascribes it (*Mod. Review*, Allahabad, 1908, p. 21) on the authority of R. A. S. MS. No. 71. The writer is said to have been Nīl Prabhū Munshi, a Brahman adviser of Sivāji. The chief, who was illiterate, could not have composed and dictated such a document.

The rate of the *jizya* assessment in Bengal, according to Stewart (p. 308n.) was 6½ per thousand on all property. Christians paid 1½ per cent. on their trading in addition. The sick, lame, and blind were excused. The following quotation explains Stewart's statement about the tax on Christians. 'As for the three European Companies, they flatly refused to pay it (the *jizya*), on which Aurangzebe, while exempting them from the impost, obtained its equivalent by raising the duties on Europe goods to 8½ per cent., instead of the 2 per cent. which had hitherto been allowed them by special charter' (Strachey, *Keigwin's Rebellion*, p. 45).

irreplaceable works of art. The testimony of books is amply confirmed by local traditions in all parts of the country, many of which I have heard on the spot. The ruin was not confined to new or recent structures. Temples of all ages were attacked indiscriminately.

Aurangzēb employed all his three adult sons, the Princes Muaz-zam, Azam, and Akbar, in the Rājput war, with poor success and several serious reverses. Mārwar (Jodhpur) was formally annexed to the empire late in 1679, but the conquest was far from complete, and fighting in that territory continued without interruption for nearly thirty years longer. If the traditions recorded by Tod may be accepted, the imperialists more than once owed their escape from overwhelming disaster to the unpractical chivalry of their opponents.

Revolt of Prince Akbar. Prince Akbar, although supposed to be his father's favourite son, dreamed of a throne for himself to be won by Rājput swords, and went over to the enemy on the first day of 1681. He addressed singularly outspoken remonstrances in reply to a letter from his father, written probably early in January 1681. Aurangzēb had endeavoured to win back his son by a combination of promises with threats, and in the course of his argument exposed his real sentiments concerning his gallant Rājput subjects by describing them as 'Satans in a human shape . . . beast-looking, beast-hearted, wicked Rājputs'.

Akbar responded by urging his personal claims to consideration, and repelling his father's foul abuse of the clans.

'All sons have equal claims to the property of their father. . . . Verily, the guide and teacher of this path [*scil.* of rebellion against a father] is Your Majesty; others are merely following your footsteps. How can the path which Your Majesty himself chose to follow be called "the path of ill-luck"?'

The writer recalls how Akbar had conquered the realm of Hindostan with the help of the Rājputs, and continues:

'Blessings be on this race's fidelity to salt, who without hesitation in giving up their lives for their master's sons, have done such deeds of heroism that for three years the Emperor of India, his mighty sons, famous ministers, and high grandees have been moving in distraction against them, although this is only the beginning of the contest.'

The Prince proceeds to expound the oppression of the government, the misery of the Deccan as well as of other provinces, and the universal official corruption.

'The clerks and officers of state have taken to the practice of traders, and are buying posts with gold and selling them for shameful considerations. "Every one who eats salt destroys the salt-cellar."'

Akbar continued with admonitions to his father to retire from the world, and 'make his soul', to use the Irish idiom. He added bitter personalities in verse:

What good did you do to your father
That you expect so much from your son?

O thou that art teaching wisdom to mankind
Administer to thine own self what thou art teaching to others !
Thou art not curing thyself,
Then, for once, give up counselling others.

A caustic pen was not enough to save the prince, who was no match for his wily father. Decisive action at the right moment would have overwhelmed Aurangzēb, who was almost destitute of troops for a short time. Akbar allowed the opportunity to slip, and spent his time in unseasonable pleasures. When he was ready to attack it was too late, reinforcements having reached the emperor. Aurangzēb, who always preferred guile to force, completed the discomfiture of his son by a trick. He forged a letter written in Akbar's name intimating the prince's intention to betray his allies, and arranged that it should fall into the hands of the Rājput̃s. They were simple enough to take the bait, and in their wrath deserted in a body. When they discovered the deception the cause of the rebel was past mending, and he was forced to ride hard for the Deccan, escorted by a small retinue of faithful followers, and guided by Durgadās, the devoted servant of the Rāj. Sivājī having died in 1680, Akbar took refuge with his son Rājā Sambhājī, but ultimately was constrained to quit India and retire to Persia. His subsequent designs aimed against his father came to naught, and he died in exile in 1704.¹

Hostilities with Mewār were ended in June 1681, by a treaty which provided for the cession of certain territory by the Rānā in lieu of the payment of the *jizya*, the demand for that odious impost being dropped. War in Mārwar, as already mentioned, continued for thirty years until 1709, when Aurangzēb's successor, Bahādur Shāh, formally and finally acknowledged the rights of Jaswant Singh's son, Ajit Singh, as Rājā and ruler of Mārwar.

Although Aurangzēb always commanded a certain amount of service from several of the Rājput̃ clans, his unwise fanaticism alienated the two principal states, and deprived his throne of the loyal support gladly tendered to his wiser ancestors.

Aurangzēb goes to the Deccan. In 1681 Aurangzēb resolved to proceed to the Deccan in person, hoping that the presence of the sovereign might remove the danger threatening from Akbar's presence, secure the long-deferred conquest of the Sultanate, and curb the growing insolence of the Marāthās. The recent death of Sivājī seemed to offer a favourable opportunity. The Mogul generals, as Bernier observes, used to

'conduct every operation . . . with languor and avail themselves of any pretext for the prolongation of war which is alike the source of their emolument and dignity. It is become a proverbial saying that the Deccan is the bread and support of the soldiers of Hindostan.'

¹ For the correct date see *E. & D.*, vii. 196, and Sarkar, *History*. Beale and other writers wrongly give the year as 1706. The quotations from Akbar's letter are taken from Sarkar's article in *The Modern Review*, January 1915, pp. 44-8.

Fryer quotes the same saying, observing that the policy of Aurangzēb was

'frustrated chiefly by the means of the soldiery and great Amīrs (Ombrāhs), who live lazily and in pay, whereupon they term the Deccan (Duccan) "the bread of the military men" '.

The emperor left Ajmēr in September, and arrived at Burhānpur in November 1681. In the year following he moved to Aurangābād; and in 1683 pitched his camp at Ahmadnagar, from which place he marched in 1685 to Sholāpur. Those years were spent in the unsuccessful attempt to capture Prince Akbar and in sundry operations against the Marāthās, disastrous for the most part.

The campaign against Golkonda in 1685 was entrusted to Prince Muazzam, who came to terms with the enemy, which were accepted officially but disapproved privately by the emperor.

Surrender of Bijāpur. The investment of Bijāpur ended in October 1686, by the surrender of the city and of the young king, Sikandar, who became a prisoner for life. The independence of the state and the existence of the Ādil Shāhī dynasty thus came to an end. Sikandar's death in prison fifteen years later was, as usual, attributed to poison. The noble city remained desolate for many years, but has now recovered some small measure of prosperity. The buildings of the kings rival and in some respects surpass the Mogul monuments of northern India.

Capture of Golkonda. Abu-l Hasan, King of Golkonda or Hyderabad, had incurred Aurangzēb's wrath in a special measure because he had employed Brahman ministers and had sent money to Sambhāji. The dissoluteness of his private life was alleged as another reason for treating him with the utmost severity. When the final attack on the fortress of Golkonda came in 1687 the king gave up his evil ways, and played a man's part by conducting a gallant defence, with the aid of a brave and faithful lieutenant named Abdu-r Razzāk. Aurangzēb and his generals tried every means known to them—mines, bombardment, and escalade—without success. The fortress, like Asīrgarh in Akbar's time, was so amply provided with food and munitions that it was prepared to hold out indefinitely. The emperor, therefore, following the precedent of his ancestor, had recourse to bribery, and gained admittance through the treachery of one of the officers of the garrison, who opened a gate. Abdu-r Razzāk, fighting to the last, fell covered with seventy wounds. Aurangzēb, admiring his courage and fidelity, placed him under the care of surgeons, who succeeded in effecting his cure. After about a year he accepted unwillingly a post in the imperial service.

Khāfi Khān states that Aurangzēb received the captive king 'very courteously' and provided him with a 'suitable allowance' for his maintenance in the fortress of Daulatābād. Manucci, on the contrary, tells a horrid and improbable story that Abu-l Hasan was beaten unmercifully in the presence of Aurangzēb in order to force him to account for his treasures.

The fall of Golkonda in October 1687 closed the story of the Kutb Shāhī dynasty.

Impolicy of the conquest. Aurangzēb had thus attained what he considered to be the main purpose of the campaign, and had won the prize which had seemed to be within his grasp thirty years earlier, but had then eluded him. All historians agree in pointing out the impolicy of the destruction of the Sultanates, which annihilated the only Muhammadan governments in the south, let loose a swarm of discharged soldiers to plunder the country, and freed the Marāthā chiefs from any fear of local rivalry. Aurangzēb did not yet fully understand the strength of his Marāthā enemies, whom he despised.

Execution of Rājā Sambhājī. In 1689 his troops captured Sivājī's successor, Sambhājī, with his Brahman minister Kalusha. The Rājā is said to have used abusive language to his captors. It is certain that he, his minister, and ten or twelve other persons were executed with horrid barbarity, their tongues being torn out and many other tortures inflicted. Aurangzēb personally ordered those atrocities, which stain his memory. Sambhājī's son, a boy of seven years of age, whose real name was Sivājī, but who is ordinarily known by the nickname of Sāhū or Shāhū, was spared, appointed a *mansabdar* of 700, and brought up in the imperial palace.

Farthest advance of Mogul power. The capture and execution of Sambhājī naturally aroused hopes that the Marāthā resistance would collapse. The imperialists actually did obtain a certain measure of success, and in 1691 were able to levy tribute even on Tanjore and Trichinopoly in the far south. That year, accordingly, may be taken as marking the most distant advance of the Mogul power.

Arrest of Prince Muazzam. Aurangzēb's eldest surviving son, Prince Muazzam or Shāh Ālam, had shown a sentiment of tenderness towards the Sultans of both Golkonda and Bijāpur, whose utter destruction he regarded as impolitic. He seems to have gone so far as to have entered into treasonable correspondence with his father's enemies and to have furnished supplies to Bijāpur during the investment of that city. His arrest for those alleged offences was effected in March 1687. He remained in confinement, at first of the severest kind, but later much relaxed, for more than seven years until April 1694, when he was released and appointed governor of Kābul. During the period of Prince Muazzam's imprisonment, his next brother, Prince Azam, believed himself to be the heir apparent and chosen successor of his father. He was much disappointed by the unexpected end of his brother's detention, which was arranged by the old emperor with his accustomed cunning. The immediate motive for the release of the eldest prince was an attempt of Prince Akbar to invade India with Persian help, and make a bid for the crown. He advanced with twelve thousand Persian horsemen to the neighbourhood of Mūltān, but was obliged to retire when confronted by a superior force under Shāh Ālam (Prince Muazzam).

A fatuous campaign. After the execution of Sambhājī the Marāthā government was carried on by his brother, Rājā Rām, who retired to Jinjī in the south. When he died a few years later (1700), his widow Tārā Bāī, an able and energetic woman, administered the affairs of the state as regent, and gave the Moguls no peace. Her capital was Sātārā. The natural expectation that the death of three Rājās within a few years should weaken the Marāthā resistance was completely falsified. From about 1698, if not earlier, Aurangzēb's prolonged campaign may be described as a complete failure. Although he seemed to be still physically strong, he had lost the capacity for controlling his subordinates, who wasted time and money in the most unblushing manner. Zulfikār Khān, son of Asad Khān, the prime minister, and supposed to be one of the best imperial generals, deliberately played with the siege of Jinjī for some seven years and purposely allowed Rājā Rām to escape. Prince Kāmbakhsh, the emperor's youngest and favourite son, entered into traitorous correspondence with the enemy, whom he even thought of joining, so that Zulfikār Khān was obliged to send him to his father under arrest, a liberty which Aurangzēb privately resented.¹ Plague and cholera desolated the Deccan for about eight years, floods more than once swept through the imperial camp, and hardly any pretence of fighting was maintained. Aurangzēb, with almost incredible fatuity, devoted his energies to the capture of individual forts, and, as a rule, was content to buy them from the commandants. Khāfi Khān gives a long list of forts so acquired, and mentions only one or two as having been honestly stormed. The story is an astonishing record of incompetence and folly. It seems clear that Aurangzēb towards the end of his unduly prolonged life was in his dotage and quite incapable of effective executive action, although still retaining his old cunning.² Khāfi Khān discreetly observes that Prince Azam had noticed 'the altered temper of his father, whose feelings were not always in their natural state'. Aurangzēb had never trusted anybody, and had tried to look after all the affairs of a great empire in person. Naturally he failed disastrously even while he was young. When he was approaching the age of ninety it was manifestly impossible for him to control even the war of the Deccan. The affairs of the rest of India slipped from his grasp almost completely, and the gigantic hoards of treasure amassed by his father were squandered without result.³

Thus the too cunning old autocrat wasted the last twenty-six

¹ See letter clxxiv in Bilimoria for the treason of Prince Kāmbakhsh. Gemelli-Careri calls the prince Sikandar, apparently in error, confounding him probably with the ex-Sultan of Bijāpur.

² 'One cannot rule without practising deception. . . . A government that is joined to cunning lasts and remains firm for ever, and the master of this [art] becomes a king for all time. . . . It is contrary to the Korān to consider stratagem as blameable' (Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzēb*, p. 96).

³ In letter clxifi (Bilimoria) Aurangzēb expressly says that the expenses of the Deccan war were 'defrayed from the treasury of Northern India'.

years of his reign. The Deccan, from which he never returned, was the grave of his reputation as well as of his body.

Dr. Gemelli-Careri's description. One of the most interesting of the many narratives by European travellers who visited India during the reign of Aurangzēb is the account of the camp and court of the aged emperor in the Deccan early in the year 1695 as recorded by the learned Italian lawyer, Dr. Gemelli-Careri, who spent six years in going round the world, and undertook a troublesome and dangerous journey from Goa for the sole purpose of seeing the Great Mogul. Aurangzēb was then, in March and April, encamped at Galgala or Galgali, on the northern bank of the Krishni (Kistna), about fourteen miles distant from the town of Mudhol.¹

The enclosure of the royal tents alone measured about three miles, and the whole camp, with a circumference of some thirty miles, had a population of half a million. The separate bazaars or markets numbered two hundred and fifty, and every class of goods, even the most costly, was on sale.

The traveller was accorded the honour of a private audience in the morning before the public reception, which began about ten o'clock. Aurangzēb received him courteously, questioning him about his travels and the war with the Turks in Hungary. The emperor, who was then approaching the age of eighty, was bowed by the weight of years, and leant on a crutched stick, but was able to write his orders on petitions without using spectacles. He was of small stature, with a large nose, and white rounded beard. His coat and turban were of white cotton, his sash or waistband of silk, all quite inexpensive, but his head-dress was adorned by a gold band and a great emerald surrounded by smaller stones. The traveller confirms the Muhammadan accounts of the extraordinary austerity of Aurangzēb's personal habits. He slept little, spent hours in devotion, confined himself to vegetable diet, and often fasted. His attendants marvelled how a man of his age could endure the hard conditions to which he subjected his body.

The public reception was conducted with the pomp customary at the Mogul court. Aurangzēb never either compelled other people to adopt his ascetic personal habits, or allowed any diminu-

¹ Gemelli-Careri details the stages of his journey (Tomo iii, pp. 87 foll.). The distance is about 125 miles on the map, or 150 for travelling. Galgala must be Galgali in the Bāgalkot Taluka of the Bijāpur District, Bombay, 7 *kōs* from Mudhol (16° 20' N. and 75° 19' E.). The position of the Galgala camp does not appear to have been defined until now. Lane-Poole, who quotes Gemelli-Careri, gives no indication of its situation. Later in the year 1695 Aurangzēb moved his camp to Brahmāpuri or Islāmpuri in the Sholāpur District, misnamed Bairāmpur by Khāfi Khān and Lane-Poole. I have used the very rare Italian enlarged and revised second edition in nine volumes, Venezia, 1719. The traveller gives a curious woodcut of the emperor leaving his tent. The population of the camp was half a million (500,000), not 'five millions', as quoted by Lane-Poole. The correct number of infantry is 100,000, and that of camels 50,000 (Tomo iii, p. 103).

tion in the accustomed magnificence of his surroundings. His letters show that he was extremely jealous in his care of the royal prerogative and watchful to prevent the slightest infringements of etiquette.

Death of Aurangzēb. The last or almost the last petty success of the imperialists was won in 1705 by the capture of the fort of Wākinkera which had been evacuated by the enemy. About the same time the health of Aurangzēb broke down, and he was seized with fainting fits which rendered him temporarily unconscious. Whenever he grew a little better he gallantly fought his disorder and forced himself to make a public appearance. At last, 'slowly and with difficulty', he marched back to Ahmadnagar, where he had encamped twenty-four years earlier, filled with hopes of conquest and glory. Now, when he nerved himself to sit in the hall of audience, he was 'very weak and death was clearly stamped upon his face'. The fever increased, but he still attended scrupulously to the prescribed times of prayer. On the morning of Friday, February 21 (o.s.), 1707, when one watch of the day had gone, and the prayers and creed had been duly recited, his weary spirit was released. His viscera were buried where he died. His embalmed body was carried to the village of Rauza or Khuldābād near Daulatābād, and there laid to rest in holy ground beside the tombs of famous saints. He left written instructions that his obsequies were to be conducted with studied austerity. Four rupees, two annas (9s. 6d.), earned as the price of caps made by himself, were to be spent on his shroud. 305 rupees gained by copying Korāns were to be given to poor holy men. His body was to be buried bare-headed, and the top of the coffin was to be covered merely with a piece of white canvas. No canopy was to be raised over him.¹ His tomb is a perfectly plain block of plastered masonry on an open platform.²

Aurangzēb's ideal. Thus Aurangzēb died as he had lived, striving to attain the ideal of a strict Muslim ascetic of the school of Hanīfa. He endeavoured to follow the Law and Traditions in every detail of his personal conduct and habits. He learned the whole Korān by heart after his accession, and was well versed in the works of theologians, especially those of the Imām Muhammad Ghazzālī.³ He was careful to educate his children, including his daughters, in sacred lore. He abstained scrupulously from the slightest indulgence in any prohibited food, drink, or dress; and, although well skilled in the theory of music, refused to enjoy the pleasures of that art from an early date in his reign. Every ritual prescription of prayer, fasting, and almsgiving was obeyed

¹ Sarkar, *Anecdotes*, p. 52.

² The tombs at Rauza ('the garden', scil. of Paradise) are described by Haig, *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan* (1907), pp. 56-8. *Khuld* means 'paradise', with allusion to Aurangzēb's posthumous title *Khuld-makān*, 'whose abode is in paradise'.

³ Abū Hāmid Muhammad Zainu-d dīn of Tūs near Mashhad (A. D. 1058-1111), a renowned philosopher, mathematician, and astronomer.

exactly, even at the risk of his life. He desired all judicial proceedings to be conducted in precise accordance with Muslim law. He excluded Hindus from holding office so far as possible, cast down their temples, and harassed them by insulting regulations because he believed that he was bound to do so by the precedent of the early Khalifs. For the same reason he enforced the levy of the *jizya*, and in his latest years refused to allow the least relaxation in the collection of the tax, even for the purpose of securing supplies for his own camp.¹ It is not to be wondered at that such conduct has won him the reverence of Muhammadans.

Failure as a sovereign.

But when he is judged as a sovereign he must be pronounced a failure. The criticism of Khāfi Khān emphasizes equally his merits as an ascetic and his demerits in the practical government of an empire:

‘Of all the sovereigns of the House of Timūr—nay, of all the sovereigns of Delhi—no one, since Sikandar Lodī, has ever been apparently so distinguished for devotion, austerity, and justice. In courage, long-suffering, and sound judgement he was unrivalled. But from reverence for the injunctions of the Law he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of a country cannot be maintained.² Dissensions had arisen among his nobles through rivalry. So every plan and project that he formed came to little good; and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution and failed of its object. Although he lived for ninety [lunar] years, his five senses were not at all impaired, except his hearing, and that to only so slight an extent that it was not perceptible to others. He often passed his nights in vigils and devotion, and he denied himself many pleasures naturally belonging to humanity.’

The censures of the friendly Muhammadan critic do not exhaust the list of Aurangzēb's defects as a ruler. His intense suspiciousness,



AURANGZĒB.

¹ Sarkar, *Anecdotes*, p. 142.

² Confirmed by Gemelli-Careri. ‘Il cessa d’être sanguinaire comme auparavant; il devint même si bon (‘good-natured’) que les Gouverneurs & les *Omrahs* ne lui obéissent pas régulièrement, se fiant à sa clemence’ (French transl., iii. 227). See also Italian text, tomo iii, p. 105. His letters give further proof of the weakness of his rule.

already mentioned, poisoned his whole life. He never trusted anybody, and consequently was ill served. His cold, calculating temperament rarely permitted him to indulge in love for man or woman, and few indeed were the persons who loved him. His reliance on mere cunning as the principal instrument of statecraft testified to a certain smallness of mind, and, moreover, was ineffective in practice. Although he had many opportunities for winning military distinction, he failed to show ability as a general, whether before or after his accession. His proceedings in the Deccan during the latter part of his life were simply ridiculous as military operations. In fact, nothing in the history of Aurangzēb justifies posterity in classing him as a great king. His tricky cunning was mainly directed, first to winning, and then to keeping the throne. He did nothing for literature or art. Rather it should be said that he did less than nothing, because he discouraged both.

Aurangzēb's death-bed letters. The famous letters to his sons, written shortly before his death, must not be interpreted as implying that he felt remorse for the means by which he gained the throne, or for any acts of perfidy committed later in the supposed interest of the state. He regarded his treatment of his relatives as prompted and justified by self-defence; and it is true that his brothers, if they had not been executed by him, would have been delighted to take his life. Perfidy was the most essential element in policy to his thinking, and he did not hesitate to avow that belief, which has been and still is cherished by many kings and statesmen.

The death-bed letters simply express the weariness of an aged man who had lived too long, had failed in cherished plans, and was tormented by morbid fears about his fate in the next world—fears based upon his theological creed, and perfectly sincere.

The following collection of passages includes extracts from all the three letters, which are nearly identical :

‘I know not who I am, where I shall go, or what will happen to this sinner full of sins. Now I will say good-bye to every one in this world and entrust every one to the care of God. My famous and auspicious sons should not quarrel among themselves and allow a general massacre of the people who are servants of God. . . . My years have gone by profitless. God has been in my heart, yet my darkened eyes have not recognized his light. . . . There is no hope for me in the future. The fever is gone, but only the skin is left. . . . The army is confounded, and without heart or help, even as I am; apart from God, with no rest for the heart. . . . When I have lost hope in myself, how can I hope in others? . . . You should accept my last will. It should not happen that Musalmāns be killed and the blame for their death rest upon this useless creature. . . . I have greatly sinned and know not what torment awaits me. . . . I commit you and your sons to the care of God and bid you farewell . . . May the peace of God be upon you.’

The sternest critic of the character and deeds of Aurangzēb can hardly refuse to recognize the pathos of those lamentations or to feel some sympathy for the old man on his lonely death-bed.

Transactions with European nations. The transactions in which European nations, chiefly the English, were prominently

concerned lie so much apart from the general current of events in the reign that it is convenient to notice them separately, rather than in their chronological setting. But it is not possible to go into details of the incidents, which were numerous and complicated.

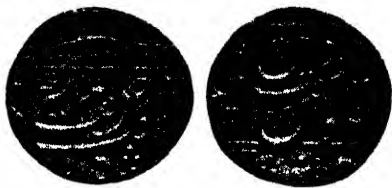
The Portuguese, in the days of Aurangzēb, were of so little account that the dealings between them and his government may be passed by. The struggle for the eastern maritime trade then lay between the English and the Dutch. But the Hollanders devoted their attention chiefly to the commerce with the Indian Archipelago and Spice Islands, keeping very quiet in their Indian factories. The small settlements on the coasts made by the French and Danes during the reign did not seriously concern the Mogul empire. The real trouble was with the English traders who began to assert themselves and to claim the right of fortifying their 'factories' or commercial stations.

The English factory at Surat was gallantly defended against Sivājī and his Marāthā robbers on two occasions, in 1664 and 1670. Sir George Oxinden's brave repulse of the marauders on the first occasion won approval and honours from Aurangzēb.

Disputes concerning customs duties between the English traders on the Hūgli and Nawāb Shāyista Khān, the governor of Bengal, had the curious result of bringing about a semi-official war between England and the Mogul empire.

The authorities of the East India Company in London ordinarily were averse to acquisition of territory or to fortifying their factories, but Sir Josiah Child, the masterful chairman or governor of the Company, who was ambitious, aimed at laying 'the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come'. In 1685 he persuaded King James II to sanction the dispatch of ten or twelve ships of war with instructions to seize and fortify Chittagong. The expedition, rashly planned and unfortunate in execution, was an utter failure. Subsequently, in 1688, the English found themselves obliged to abandon Bengal altogether.

Sir John Child, the President of Surat, acting under instructions from home, defied Aurangzēb's power on the western coast, with the result that the factory at Surat was seized, and orders were issued by the emperor to expel all Englishmen from his dominions. Ultimately terms were arranged on both sides of India. Ibrāhīm Khān, the successor of Shāyista Khān as governor of Bengal, invited Job Charnock, who had been chief of the settlement on the Hūgli, to return. The invitation was accepted. On August 24, 1690, Charnock hoisted the English flag on the banks of the Hūgli and laid the humble foundation of the small settlement destined to develop into the city of Calcutta.



Rupee of Aurangzēb Ālamgīr.

The scandalous quarrels between the old East India Company of London and the New English Company, which lasted from 1698 to 1702 and to some extent later, were brought prominently to the notice of Aurangzēb, who could not make out which Company was the genuine one. His great officers profited largely by receiving heavy bribes from both associations, but the queer story is too long and intricate for brief narration.

After the ignominious failure of the warlike policy of the two Childs and the complete fusion of the rival companies in 1708 the English merchants kept clear of politics and fighting for almost half a century.¹

Administration. In the latter years of Aurangzēb's reign the fifteen provinces (*subas*) of Akbar's time had increased to twenty-one. Thathah (Tatta), or Southern Sind, Kashmir, and Orissa, formerly included respectively in Mūltān, Kābul, and Bengal, had been separated, and the provinces of the Deccan had become six instead of three.

The system of administration, while substantially the same as in Akbar's days, was worse in operation, because Aurangzēb failed to keep a firm hand over his subordinates, and when he grew old was unable to make his authority respected.

Several authors have taken much trouble to compare various statements of the revenue of the empire at different times, but their labours have been fruitless. The figures on record cannot be forced to yield trustworthy results. I therefore refrain from quoting or discussing them. The army, which made a brave show on paper or in camp, was of little military value. Manucci's estimate that 30,000 good European soldiers could sweep away the imperial authority and occupy the whole empire seems to be fully justified by the facts. The navy was utterly inefficient. The assertion of one of the Persian historians that Aurangzēb renounced the practice of confiscating the estates of deceased notables is contradicted decisively by the emperor's letters. The few letters translated by Bilimoria give three instances of such confiscation being ordered by Aurangzēb under his own hand. When Amīr Khān, governor of Kābul, died the authorities were instructed to seize everything belonging to him, so that 'even a piece of straw' should not be left (Letter xcix). Similar orders were given concerning the estates of Shāyista Khān, the emperor's maternal uncle, and Mahābat Khān (Letters cxxviii, cxlvi). The receipts from such confiscations were exceedingly large, and the treasury was not in a position justifying the surrender of revenue, 'because', as the emperor wrote, 'the royal treasury belongs to the public'.

¹ Mr. Strachey has proved that the two Childs, Sir Josiah and Sir John, were not brothers. They were not even related (*Keigwin's Rebellion*, Clarendon Press, 1916, App. A).

Leading Dates only(For dates of war of succession see *ante*, p. 422.)

Formal enthronement of Aurangzēb ; murder of Afzal Khān by Sivāji	1659
Cession of Bombay by Portuguese to English	1661
Mir Jumla's expedition to Assam	1661-3
Aurangzēb's illness ; first sack of Surat by Sivāji ; foundation of French <i>Compagnie des Indes</i>	1664
Death of Shāhjahān ; annexation of Chittagong by Shāyista Khān	1666
Prohibition of Hindu worship ; demolition of temples ; first Jāt rebellion	1669
First levy of <i>chauth</i> on Mogul territory ; second sack of Surat by Sivāji	1670
Satnāmī insurrection	1672
Enthronement of Sivāji as independent Rājā	1674
Sivāji's expedition to the south	1676
Death of Rājā Jaswant Singh	1678
Reimposition of the <i>jizya</i>	1679
Death of Sivāji	1680
Rājput war ; rebellion of Prince Akbar	1680-1
Second Jāt rebellion ; Aurangzēb goes to the Deccan	1681
Sir Josiah Child's war	1685-6
Annexation of Bijāpur	1686
Annexation of Golkonda	1687
Total withdrawal of the English from Bengal	1688
Execution of Rājā Sambhājī	1689
Return of the English to Bengal and foundation of Calcutta	1690
Greatest southern extension of imperial authority	1691
Indecisive war in the Deccan	1692-1705
Union of the rival East India Companies	1702-8
Retreat of Aurangzēb to Ahmadnagar	January 1706
Death of Aurangzēb	February 21 (o.s.), 1707

AUTHORITIES

Copious extracts from KHĀFĪ KHĀN and other writers in Persian are translated in *E. & D.*, vol. vii. Professor JADUNATH SARKAR gives a summary history of the reign and many interesting details in *Anecdotes of Aurangzēb and Historical Essays* (Calcutta, 1912). Vol. iii of the same author's *History of Aurangzēb* comes down to A. D. 1681, excluding Deccan affairs. For a rather crude version of selected correspondence, BILIMORIA, *Letters of Aurangzēb* (London (Luzac) and Bombay, 1908), is useful. The leading authority for Marāthā affairs is GRANT DUFF, *History of the Mahrattas* (1826, and reprints). That work, being founded on personal knowledge and manuscripts now lost, ranks as an original source. The little book by MANKAR (2nd ed., Bombay, 1886), translated from a lost manuscript, is of considerable value. It is entitled *The Life and Exploits of Shivāji*, and has become very scarce. Professor RAWLINSON's sketch, *Shivāji the Marāthā* (Clarendon Press, 1915), is too slight and needs revision. Its special interest lies in the translations from Rāmdās and Tukārām.

ELPHINSTONE knew the Marāthā country and people so intimately that his narrative counts as a primary authority for some purposes. Many European travellers illustrate the story of the reign. The most serviceable works are those of BERNIER (ed. Constable and V. A. Smith, Oxford University Press, 1914); FRYER (ed. Crooke, Hakluyt Society, 1909, 1912, 1913); and GEMELLI-CARERI (French version², 1727). I have obtained from Rome a copy of the very rare Italian original, Venice, 1719, second edition, in nine volumes. The first edition appeared at Naples in 1699–1700 in 6 vols. TOD, *Annals of Rajasthan* (popular ed.); STEWART, *History of Bengal* (London, 1813); STRACHEY, *Keigwin's Rebellion* (Clarendon Press, 1916), and other books have been consulted. STANLEY LANE-POOLE's *Aurangzib* (R. I., 1896), the most readable account of the whole reign, requires considerable correction in certain details.

It may be well to note that the spelling Aurangzib represents the Persian and Aurangzēb the Indian pronunciation.

CHAPTER 7

The Later Moguls; decline of the empire; the Sikhs and Marāthās.

War of succession : Bahādur Shāh. The practical certainty that his sons would fight for the throne of Hindostan as soon as he should die weighed heavily on the heart of Aurangzēb, who attempted to prevent the inevitable war of succession by admonitions which have been already quoted. He cannot possibly have believed in their efficacy. He also left behind him a memorandum suggesting a partition of the empire, but could not have had any real expectation that his heirs would accept that solution of the difficulty. The same reasons which had brought about the war of succession between Aurangzēb and his brothers forced his sons to fight. The eldest, Prince Muazzam, also called Shāh Ālam, was far away in Kābul, and so for the moment at a disadvantage. The second, Prince Azam, and the third, Prince Kāmbakhsh, who were both at hand in the Deccan, lost no time in asserting their claims. Each promptly proclaimed his accession, and struck coins in his own name. The immediate objective of all the three claimants was the seizure of Agra with its hoards of treasure. Whoever could first obtain possession of the cash in the Agra vaults would be able to buy unlimited support. Prince Muazzam, aided by an able officer named Munim Khān, moved down from Kābul with all speed, and met the army of his brother Azam at Jājau to the south of Agra on June 10, 1707. Kāmbakhsh, who had occupied Bijāpur and Golkonda or Hyderabad, was not able to leave the Deccan. The hotly contested battle at Jājau ended in the defeat and death of Prince Azam. Shāh Ālam secured the Agra treasure, which he distributed liberally among the nobles and soldiery. He assumed the style of Bahādur Shāh.

The new emperor then made arrangements to keep the Rājput chiefs quiet, and marched south to meet Kāmbakhsh, who was defeated near Hyderabad and died of wounds early in 1708.¹

¹ No sympathy need be wasted on either Azam or Kāmbakhsh, who

Release of Shāhū. Bahādur Shāh, acting on the astute advice of Zulfikār Khān, released Shāhū (Sivājī II), the great Sivājī's grandson, who had been educated at court, and sent him back to his own country, then under the government of Tārā Bāī, the widow of the young prince's uncle, Rājā Rām. The expected civil war among the Marāthās which ensued prevented them from troubling the imperial government, thus justifying Zulfikār Khān's counsel.

News of Sikh rebellion. Bahādur Shāh, when returning from the Deccan, committed the government of the south to Zulfikār Khān, who passed on the duties of administration to Dāūd Khān, a ferocious Afghan ruffian, concerning whose barbarities Manucci relates many horrible stories.¹ When the emperor reached Ajmēr in 1710 he received reports that the town of Sihriind had been sacked by the Sikh sectaries under a leader known as Bandah ('the slave'), and sometimes described as the False Guru, who had committed innumerable atrocities. The news received was so serious that Bahādur Shāh resolved to proceed in person against the rebels. In order to render the situation intelligible it is necessary to narrate briefly the origin and early development of the Sikh movement.

The early Sikh gurus. The Sikhs, or 'disciples', originally were a pious sect of Hindus following the precepts of their first guru or prophet named Nānak, who lived from A.D. 1469 to 1539. He resembled Kabīr and many other sages in his teaching which laid stress on the unity of God, the futility of forms of worship, and the unreality of caste distinctions. The first four gurus were merely leaders of a peaceable reformed sect, with no thought of either military organization or political power. In 1577 Akbar, who liked the Sikh teaching so far as he knew it, granted to the fourth guru the site of the tank and Golden Temple at Amritsar, and so established that town as the head-quarters of the Sikh faith.

The fifth guru, Arjun, combined business with spiritual guidance, and acquired wealth from the offerings of the faithful. He was tortured and executed in 1606 by order of Jahāngīr because he refused to pay the fine imposed on him for having assisted Khusrū, not on account of his religious teaching. The Ādi Granth, or original Sikh Bible, was compiled in 1604 at the dictation of Arjun.

Hargobind. Hargobind, the sixth head of the sect (1606-45), when presented at his installation with the turban and necklace of his predecessors, refused to accept them, saying: 'My necklace

were both unfit to rule. The former is described as being 'very choleric, a debauchee, rough and discourteous to everybody, also avaricious' (Irvine, Manucci, iv. 462). The latter was a half-insane tyrant, who behaved with 'outrageous cruelty', doing acts to his servants, companions, and confidants, such 'as before eye never saw, nor ear heard'.

¹ Meadows Taylor describes the brute as 'an officer of great distinction, ability, and bravery'. Elphinstone, too, gives no indication of the man's real character.

shall be my sword-belt, and my turban shall be adorned with a royal aigrette.' He thus began the transformation of a sect of quiet mystics into a fierce military order or brotherhood. He was imprisoned for twelve years by Jahāngīr, and, after the death of that emperor, constantly fought the officers of Shāhjahān.

Tēgh Bahādur. Tēgh Bahādur, the ninth guru, rejected the demand of Aurangzēb that he should embrace Islām, and in consequence was executed (1675). According to a famous story he was accused while imprisoned at Delhi of turning his gaze in the forbidden direction of the imperial female apartments. He replied to the charge by saying :

'Emperor Aurangzēb, I was on the top story of my prison, but I was not looking at thy private apartments, or at thy queen's. I was looking in the direction of the Europeans who are coming from beyond the seas to tear down thy hangings (*pardas*) and destroy thy empire.'

The anecdote was firmly believed by the Sikhs, who used the prophecy as a battle-cry during the siege of Delhi in 1857. A somewhat similar prophecy is attributed to Guru Govind.

Govind Singh. The tenth and last guru, Govind Singh (1675–1708), was the real founder of the Sikh military power, which he organized to oppose the Muhammadans. He bound the Sikh fraternity together by instituting or adopting two sacraments, perhaps suggested by Christian example. The ceremony of *pāhul* or baptism consists essentially of drinking consecrated water stirred by a sword or dagger. The communion rite was specially designed to break caste. The communicants seated in a circle partake of a mixture of consecrated flour, butter, and sugar, and thus set themselves free from the restrictions of caste. The brotherhood so constituted was termed the Khālśa or Pure, and may be compared with the Templars and other military orders of mediaeval Europe. The Sikhs are not, and never have been, a nation in any intelligible sense. One member of a family may be a Sikh or Singh, while the others are orthodox Hindus. The members of the order are only a fraction of the population in the districts where they reside, and at the present day many Sikhs describe themselves as Hindus. In fact, the distinction between Hinduism and Sikhism is not well defined, the observance of the sacraments often being neglected by men who are recognized as Sikhs. Guru Govind required the members of the brotherhood to abjure tobacco, which he detested. 'Wine', he said, 'is bad; Indian hemp (*bhang*) destroyeth one generation; but tobacco destroyeth all generations.' The initiated members of the brotherhood were also commanded to wear the 'five K's', meaning five things of which the Hindī or Panjābī names begin with that letter—namely, long hair, short drawers, an iron bangle or discus, a small steel dagger, and a comb. Those commands are not all fully observed now, and modern Sikhism owes its continued existence chiefly to the influence of the corporate spirit of the Sikh regiments. A supplementary *Granth* or Bible containing the compositions of Govind was compiled after his death.

He decided to support Bahādur Shāh (Shāh Ālam) in the war of succession, and consequently accepted service under that prince when he gained the throne. Govind, who was murdered at Nāndē in the Deccan by an Afghan in 1708, was the last of the gurus. Since his decease the holy Granth has been regarded as the representative and successor of the Gurus.

Govind seems to have authorized a man of uncertain origin to take over the military command, but not the spiritual headship, of the Sikh Khālsa. The person so nominated is known as Bandah, 'the Slave', and sometimes is called the 'False Guru'. His special mission was the taking vengeance on Wazīr Khān, the commandant of Sihhind, who had cruelly executed the young sons of Guru Govind.

Bandah. Bandah accomplished his commission with appalling ferocity and completeness. Irvine draws a lively picture of his proceedings.

'The scavengers and leather-dressers and such-like persons, who were very numerous among the Sikhs, committed excesses of every description. For the space of four days the town [Sihhind] was given up to pillage, the mosques were defiled, the houses burnt, and the Muhammadans slaughtered; even their women and children were not spared . . .

In all the parganahs occupied by the Sikhs, the reversal of previous customs was striking and complete. A low scavenger or leather-dresser, the lowest of the low in Indian estimation, had only to leave home and join the Guru, when in a short time he would return to his birthplace as its ruler, with his order of appointment in his hand. As soon as he set foot within the boundaries, the well-born and wealthy went out to greet him and escort him home. Arrived there, they stood before him with joined palms, awaiting his orders. A scavenger, from the nature of his duties, is intimately acquainted with the condition of every household. Thus the new ruler had no difficulty in exacting from every one their best and most valuable belongings, which were confiscated for the use of the Guru, or for his treasury. Not a soul dared to disobey an order, and men, who had often risked themselves in battle-fields, became so cowed, that they were afraid even to remonstrate. Hindus who had not joined the sect were not exempt from those oppressions.'

Bahādur Shāh and Munim Khān succeeded in defeating the Sikhs and driving them into the hills, but Bandah escaped.

Death of Bahādur Shāh. Bahādur Shāh, then an old man in his sixty-ninth year, died in 1712. The prolonged repression which he endured under his father had destroyed his spirit. Although he had no vice in his character, and possessed a generous, forgiving disposition, he could not govern, and justly earned the nickname of *Shah-i be khabar*, the 'Heedless King'.

War of succession : Jahāndār Shāh. His four sons engaged in the customary war of succession. Azīmu-sh shān, governor of Bengal, and the best of the four, was killed in battle with the other three, who then fell out among themselves. Jahāndār Shāh, the eldest and worst of them, a worthless profligate, became emperor.

Farrukhsiyar. After a disgraceful reign of eleven months he was killed in a barbarous fashion by order of Azīmu-sh shān's

son, Farrukhsiyar, who ascended the degraded throne (1713). He executed many notable people, including Zulfikār Khān, and established a state of terror in the court by his savage fury. During the scandalous reign of Farrukhsiyar, who was a good-for-nothing and shameless debauchee, the power of the government was mostly in the hands of two brothers, Abdullah and Husain Ali, Bārha Sayyids, whose clan had been eminent in the imperial service since the days of Akbar. They deposed Farrukhsiyar in 1719, and put him to death in a horrible way.

The short reign of Farrukhsiyar was marked by a futile attempt to reimpose the *jizya*, and by the capture of Bāndah, who was executed with fiendish tortures. About a thousand of his followers were killed in large batches (1715).

In the same year the East India Company, worried by the exactions of the Bengal provincial government, sent two factors to Delhi in order to seek redress. The envoys took with them £30,000 worth of gifts, and in the course of two years obtained valuable trade concessions and exemptions from customs duties. Their success was due partly to the fact that an English surgeon named William Hamilton cured the emperor of 'a malignant distemper', and partly to the fears of the Delhi government that the British fleet might hold up the Surat trade.

Muhammad Shāh. After the cruel murder of Farrukhsiyar the Sayyid king-makers placed on the throne several phantom emperors.¹ They quickly disappeared and were replaced by another worthless inmate of the palace, named Muhammad Shāh (1719), who, strange to say, retained his life and dignity until 1748. He got rid of Sayyid Husain Ali by assassination, and imprisoned Abdullah.

Break up of empire. In 1722 Āsaf Jāh (Chīn Kilich Khān) became Vizier. He found it impossible to bring the government into order, and in the year following retired to his province the Deccan, where he became independent and founded the existing dynasty of the Nizam, with effect from 1724.

In the same year Saādat Khān, the progenitor of the kings of Oudh, became ruler of that province, which he governed in practical independence. Similarly, Allahvardi Khān, the governor of Bengal (1740-56), ceased to pay tribute or to recognize in practice the sovereignty of the emperor. The Rohillas, an Afghan clan, made themselves masters of the rich tract to the north of the Ganges, which consequently became known as Rohilkhand. Thus, in the space of seventeen years after the death of Aurangzēb, the empire had broken up. The process of decay was continued in subsequent years. The capital was the scene of incessant intrigues and treasons, unworthy of record or remembrance.

* ¹ Their names are Rafiū-d darajāt, Rafiū-d daulat (Shāhjahān II), Nekūsiyar, and Ibrāhīm. The 'reigns' of the first three fall between February 18 and August 27, 1719. Ibrāhīm claimed the throne in 1720, from October 1 to November 8, and struck coins, now very rare. See the genealogy at the end of this chapter.

New system of Marāthā government. Meantime, momentous changes had been effected after long struggles in the Marāthā government, which resulted during Muhammad Shāh's lifetime in the Marāthās becoming the most considerable power in India. The excellent system of internal administration instituted by Sivājī had not survived that chief. It fell to pieces, as we have seen, in the hands of his son, Sambhājī. During the civil war between different parties of Marāthās which followed on the return of Shāhū to his native country, after his release by Bahādur Shāh, a new system of government was gradually evolved.

The first Pēshwā, Bālājī Visvanāth. Rājā Shāhū, who had to defend his position as Rājā against a rival claimant, leant for support chiefly on a Brahman from the Konkan, named Bālājī Visvanāth, who held from 1714 the office of Pēshwā, as the second minister was called in the early Marāthā administration.¹ By reason of his personal qualities Bālājī Visvanāth made the office to count in practice as the first, and not the second. When he died in 1720 his official position was inherited by his son, Bājī Rāo (I), a man still abler than himself. The appointment of Pēshwā thus became hereditary, and soon overshadowed the Rājā, who sank into a purely ornamental position, exactly as the Mahārājādhirāj of Nepāl has done in modern times. After Shāhū the descendants of Sivājī dropped out of sight so completely that all readers of history think of the Marāthā government in the eighteenth century as that of the Pēshwās. Their dynasty, as we may call it, comprised seven persons, and may be regarded as having lasted from 1714 to 1818, a little more than a century. Shāhū, who survived until 1748, granted his minister full powers in 1727.

Chauth and Sardesemukhi. Bālājī Visvanāth, as minister of Shāhū, had succeeded in introducing a certain amount of order into the Marāthā administration, and had made elaborate arrangements for collecting the assignments of revenue from provinces belonging to other powers on which his government chiefly lived. The Marāthās of those days administered only comparatively small districts directly, preferring to raise contributions from provinces governed, nominally at all events, by the emperor of Delhi or other potentates of that confused and anarchical time. In 1720 Muhammad Shāh, confirming arrangements made by Sayyid Husain Ali, recognized by treaty the authority of Rājā Shāhū, admitted his right to levy the *chauth*, or assessment of one-fourth of the land revenue over the whole Deccan, and permitted him to supplement that levy by an additional tenth of the land revenue called *sardesemukhi*.

Bālājī Visvanāth claimed that those levies should be calculated on the revenue as fixed either by Todar Mall in Akbar's, or by Malik Ambar in Shāhjahān's time, well knowing that no such amount of revenue could be raised from a ruined country. He thus secured

¹ In Sivājī's time the Pratinidhi did not exist, and the Pēshwā was the first minister.

the advantage of always keeping a bill for arrears in hand. He artfully arranged that several Marāthā chiefs should share the collections from a single district, in that way purposely introducing complications into the accounts and increasing the power of his Brahman caste-fellows, who alone had the knowledge and intelligence equal to dealing with such accounts. Nobody except the Brahmans rightly knew what was due, or to whom it was due.

The second Pēshwā, Bājī Rāo. Bājī Rāo (1720) inherited the instrument of extortion so cunningly devised by his father, and used it with supreme skill. He resolved to establish the power of his nascent nation by reorganizing the army, and directing it against the northern territories of Hindostan held by the nerveless hands of Muhammad Shāh. He also made arrangements by which he checked the growing power of Āsaf Jāh as ruler of the Hyderabad territories. The quarrels between Āsaf Jah and Bājī Rao ended in the rivals coming to terms (1731).

Origin of the Gaikwār, Sindia, and Holkar. We may take note that at the period in question the ancestors of the existing great Marāthā chiefs, namely, the Gaikwār of Baroda, Sindia of Gwālīor, and Holkar of Indore, became prominent personages and laid the foundations of the fortune of their families, which by strange good luck survived at the final settlement in 1818 of the rivalry between the Marāthās and the British. The ancestor of the Gaikwār was an adherent of a defeated opponent of Bājī Rāo, whom the Pēshwā treated with politic generosity; the progenitors of Sindia and Holkar were men of humble origin who became officers of Bājī Rāo and rose gradually in his service.

Marāthā appearance before Delhi. The Marāthās, having made themselves masters of Gujarāt, Mālwa, and Bundēlkhand, made a startling demonstration of the weakness of the empire and of their own power by evading the imperial army and suddenly appearing in the suburbs of Delhi in 1737. They did not attempt to occupy the capital, and returned to the Deccan to meet Āsaf Jah, who had again taken the field against them. The Nizam, as we may now call him, was no match for his nimble enemy and was forced to make a formal cession of Mālwa to the Marāthās.

Weakness of the empire invited attack. Bājī Rāo, Elphinstone observes,

'took possession of his conquests; but before he could receive the promised confirmation from the emperor, the progress of the transaction was arrested by one of those tremendous visitations, which for a time render men insensible to all other considerations.

The empire was again reduced to the same state of decay which had on former occasions invited the invasions of Tamerlane and Bābar; and a train of events in Persia led to a similar attack from that country.'

Nādir Shāh; battle of Karnāl. Nādir (or Tahmāsp) Kulī Khān, 'the greatest warrior Persia has ever produced', had overthrown the Safavi dynasty in 1736, and been acclaimed king of that country under the style of Nādir Shāh. When established on his throne he easily found pretexts for the invasion and plunder

of the rich and defenceless Indian plains. Advancing in 1739 through Ghaznī, Kābul, and Lahore, he met with no real obstruction until he had approached the Jumna, within 100 miles of Delhi, when he encountered the imperial army entrenched at Karnāl, not very far from the field of Pānīpat. After a fight lasting two hours the imperialists were routed, some 20,000 being slain, and immense booty falling into the hands of the conqueror. Muhammad Shāh made no attempt at further resistance, but attended Nādir Shāh in his camp, where he was received courteously. Both kings entered Delhi together, and good order was preserved until a false report of Nādir Shāh's death gave occasion to a rising of the inhabitants, in the course of which several hundreds of the invaders were killed. Nādir Shāh took terrible vengeance. Seated in the Golden Mosque of Roshanu-ddaula, situated in the main street of the city, he commanded and watched for nine hours the indiscriminate massacre of the people in uncounted thousands. At last he yielded to the prayers of Muhammad Shāh and stayed the carnage, which ceased instantly.

Nādir Shāh then proceeded systematically and remorselessly to collect from all classes of the population the wealth of Delhi, the accumulation of nearly three centuries and a half. After a stay of fifty-eight days he departed for his own country laden with treasure of incalculable richness, including the world-famed peacock throne of Shāhjahān. He annexed all the territory to the west of the Indus and the now extinct Hakrā river (*nāla* of Sankrah) under the provisions of a treaty dated May 26, 1739. Afghanistan was thus severed from the Indian monarchy.

Anarchy ; Ahmad Shāh of Delhi. Nādir Shāh left the Mogul empire bleeding and prostrate. No central government worthy of the name existed, and if any province enjoyed for a short time the blessing of tolerably good administration, as was the case in Bengal, that was due to the personal character of the noble or adventurer who had secured control over it. Very few indeed of the prominent men of the time possessed any discernible virtues. It is not worth while to relate the intrigues which occupied the corrupt and powerless court of Delhi. Marāthā affairs will be noticed presently. Here it will suffice to note that in 1748 Muhammad Shāh was succeeded peaceably by his son Ahmad Shāh.



NĀDIR SHĀH.

Ahmad Shāh Durrānī. A month before the death of Muhammad Shāh his army, under the command of the heir apparent, Prince Ahmad, and the vizier, Kamālu-d dīn, had repulsed at Sihrind on the Sutlaj Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, the Afghan chief who had succeeded Nādir Shāh in the eastern portion of that monarch's dominions. But, notwithstanding his repulse, the Durrānī was strong enough to exact tribute from the Panjāb.

After the accession of Ahmad Shāh to the throne of Delhi his Durrānī namesake came back and obtained the formal cession of the Panjāb from the helpless Indian government, which was distracted by civil war.

Āsaf Jāh, the founder of the Nizam's dynasty, having died at a great age in 1748, his grandson Ghāziu-d dīn became Vizier at Delhi. That nobleman blinded and deposed Ahmad Shāh in 1754, replacing him by a relative who was styled Ālamgīr II.

Two years later Ahmad Shāh Durrānī invaded India for the third time, and captured Delhi, which again suffered from the horrors of massacre and pillage (1756). Mathurā, too, was once more the scene of dreadful slaughter. In the summer of 1757 the Durrānī returned to his own country.

We must now revert to Marāthā affairs.

Bālājī, third Pēshwā. Bājī Rāo, the second Pēshwā, who had become the ruler of the Marāthās with hardly any pretence of dependence on the nominal Rājā, engaged in war with the Nizam after his return from his Delhi raid in 1737. He died in 1740, leaving three sons, the eldest of whom, Bālājī Rāo, succeeded him as Pēshwā, although not without much opposition from other Marāthā chiefs. In 1750 Bālājī consolidated his authority, making Poona his capital, and becoming the head of a confederacy of chiefs. Raghujī, the most prominent rival chief, had meantime acquired possession of the province of Cuttack or Orissa.

Marāthā occupation of the Panjāb. In 1758, when Ragoba or Raghunāth, the brother of the Pēshwā, having taken possession of Lahore, had occupied the whole of the Panjāb, it seemed as if the Marāthās were destined to become the sovereigns of India. That prospect seriously alarmed the Muhammadan rulers. Shujāu-d daula, Nawāb of Oudh, accordingly combined with the Rohilla Afghans, who had settled in Rohilkhand a few years earlier, against the aggressive Hindus. Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, too, was not content that the Panjāb, which he had held for a time, should be in Marāthā hands. In 1759 he returned to India and reoccupied that province. Ālamgīr II, the nominal emperor of Delhi, was murdered at this time, and succeeded by Shāh Ālam, or Prince Gauhar Ali, then in Bengal. The new emperor was recognized later by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī.

Marāthā power at its zenith. The Marāthā power was now, as Elphinstone observes,

'at its zenith. Their frontier extended on the north to the Indus and Himalaya, and on the south nearly to the extremity of the peninsula ; all the territory within those limits that was not their own paid tribute.

The whole of this great power was wielded by one hand . . . and all pretensions of every description were concentrated in the peshwa.'

Elphinstone's statement requires correction in so far that the 'one hand' which directed the Marāthā government was that of Sadāsheo (Sadāsiva) Bhāo, the Pēshwā's first cousin, and was not that of Bālājī himself, who was addicted to sensual indulgence and 'left the entire management of all the affairs of government' to his cousin, a man well trained in the conduct of business and accustomed to steady work.

Sadāsheo Bhāo, having organized a regular well-paid army, including a large train of artillery, and 10,000 infantry, disciplined more or less completely after the European manner and under the command of a Muhammadan general named Ibrāhim Khān Gardī, believed himself qualified to dispute the sovereignty of India with the Durrānī. Muhammad Shāh, the nominal emperor of Delhi, was not taken into serious account.

Renewed invasion of Upper India. In 1760 the Marāthā government decided to renew the invasion of Upper India and to attempt the achievement of Marāthā supremacy. The command of the enterprise having been declined by the Pēshwā's brother, Raghunāth Rāo, the Pēshwā's son, Viśwās Rāo, a lad of seventeen, was appointed titular generalissimo, 'according to the ancient custom of the Mahrattas', with Sadāsheo Bhāo as his adviser. The Bhāo, to use his ordinary designation, was actually in full control of the whole army. All the Marāthā contingents under their various chiefs were summoned to the standard, and the promise of the aid of the Jāts of Bhartpur under their leader, Sūraj Mall, was secured.¹ Both sides, that is to say, the Muhammadans, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī with his allies the Rohillas on one side, and the Marāthās on the other, negotiated for the adhesion of Shujāu-d daula, the young ruler of Oudh.

The Marāthā commander obtained possession of Delhi without difficulty and quartered his host there during the rainy season of 1760. The Durrānī encamped at Anūpshahr, on the Ganges, now in the Bulandshahr District. Shujāu-d daula mounted guard over his own frontier. When the rains had ended and the Dasahra festival had passed Ahmad Shāh Durrānī managed to bring his army across a dangerous ford of the Jumna on October 23 and 24. The Marāthā commander failed to take advantage of the opportunity thus offered to him.

The armies in contact. A few days later the advanced guards of the two armies came into contact, and at the end of October the Bhāo fixed his head-quarters at Pānīpat, enclosing his whole camp as well as the town with a ditch sixty feet wide and twelve feet deep. His guns were mounted on the rampart.

The Durrānī camped about eight miles from the Marāthā lines on a front of about seven and a half miles, defending his encampment by an *abattis* of felled trees. He pitched a small red tent for

¹ The Jāts took no part in the battle. They withdrew in disgust at the arrogance and folly of the Bhāo.

himself at some distance in front of his lines, and devoted incessant care to the inspection of his troops and defences. The Marāthās cut his communications, thereby causing severe distress in the Afghan camp. A bold and successful attack on the force of Gobind Pundit, which was operating on the lines of communication, opened up the sources of supply and delivered Ahmad Shāh from all danger of starvation.

The enormous crowd shut up in the Marāthā entrenchments then began to feel the pressure of hunger. Several engagements took place, but afforded no relief to the starving host. The Bhāo made desperate efforts to negotiate, going so far as to offer Ahmad Shāh peaceful possession of the Panjāb up to Sihrind. The Durrānī was inflexible. He agreed with the Rohilla leader that 'the Marāthās are the thorn of Hindostan', and that 'by one effort we get this thorn out of our sides for ever'.

Ahmad Shāh declared that the Hindostānī chiefs, all of whom desired to make terms, might negotiate or do what they pleased. He understood, he said, the business of war, and would settle the matter finally in his own way.

The Marāthās were thus reduced to the 'last extremity' and forced to flight. As the Bhāo said, 'The cup is now full to the brim and cannot hold another drop.'

Third battle of Pānīpat. He was constrained to take the offensive. At dawn on January 13, 1761, the Marāthā army advanced eastwards and battle was joined.¹ The fighting was fierce, and up to noon the balance of advantage rested with the Hindus. An hour later reinforcements pushed forward by the Shāh delivered a charge, which produced a terrible effect. Between two and three o'clock the Pēshwā's son, Viswās Rāo, was wounded and unhorsed. About three o'clock,

'all at once, as if by enchantment, the whole Mahratta army at once turned their backs and fled at full speed, leaving the field of battle covered with heaps of dead. The instant they gave way, the victors pursued them with the utmost fury; and as they gave no quarter, the slaughter is scarcely to be conceived, the pursuit continuing for ten or twelve coss [more than 20 miles] in every direction in which they fled.'

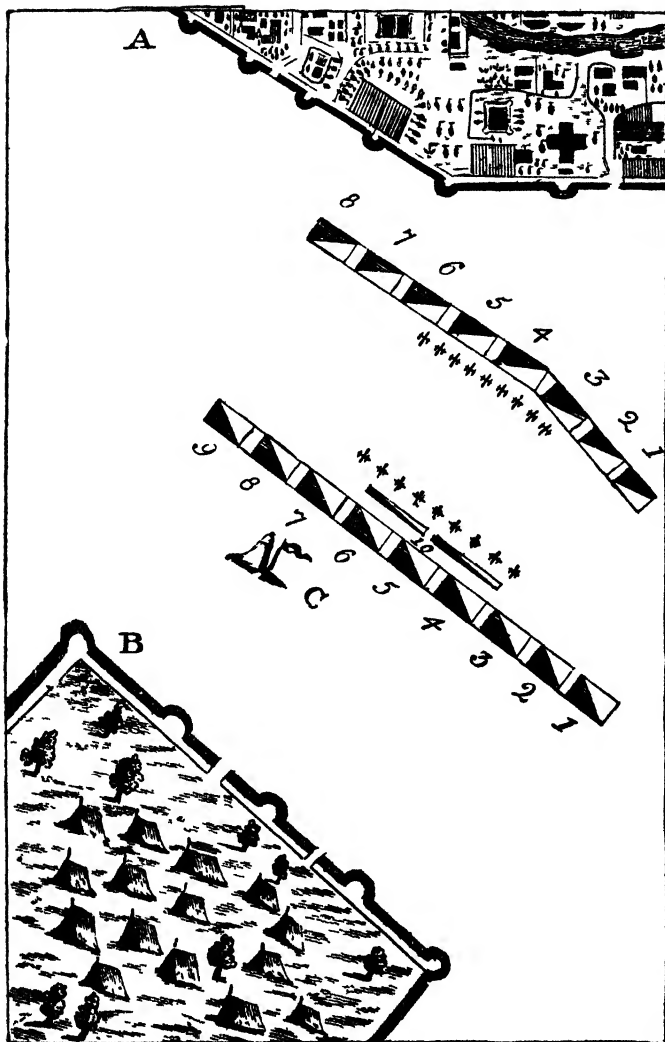
¹ The 'black mango-tree' which marked the battle-field is now replaced by a simple masonry memorial with railing (*Prog. Rep. A. S., N. Circle, 1910-11, Muhammadan and British Monuments*, pl. xv).

Explanation. The right side of the map faces nearly north-east. Eight miles separated the town from the Durrānī camp.

A. Pānīpat town and Marāthā camp. The contingents or 'divisions' are:—(1) Ibrāhīm Khān; (2) Āmājī Gaikwār; (3) Sheodēo Patēl; (4) the Bhāo and Viswās Rāo; (5) Jaswant Rāo; (6) Shamsēr Bahādur; (7) Malhar Rāo; (8) Jankājī Sindia.

B. The Durrānī camp, with (C), Ahmad Shāh's advanced tent. The contingents or 'divisions' are:—(1) Barkhurdār Khān; (2) Āmlr Beg, &c.; (3) Dhundhī Khān; (4) Hāfiz Rahmat Khān; (5) Ahmad Khān Bangash; (6) Ghūr Vizier; (7) Shujāu-d daula; (8) Najibu-d daula; (9) Shāh Pasand Khān; (10) Persian musketeers.

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF PANIPUT.



Such was the third battle of Pānīpat, a conflict far more determined and sanguinary than either of the battles fought on the same ground in the sixteenth century.¹

Numbers engaged and killed. The forces engaged were large on both sides, but the Marāthās possessed a superiority. Kāsī Rājā Pundit, who was present at the battle and made exact inquiries based on the Shāh's muster rolls, states that Ahmad Shāh's army consisted of 41,800 cavalry, 38,000 infantry—say, in all, 80,000 in round numbers, supplemented by something like four times as many irregulars. That estimate evidently includes mere camp followers. He says that the Marāthās had 55,000 cavalry, besides 15,000 Pindāris, but reckons their infantry at only 15,000. They certainly were immensely superior in artillery. Elphinstone supposes that the total number of men within their lines may have been about 300,000. It is not known how many camp followers they had. The number of Hindus slaughtered was thought to approach 200,000. Thousands of prisoners were destroyed, 'so that in the Durrany camp (with an exception of the Shāh and his principal officers) every tent had heads piled up before the door of it.'

Nearly all the Hindu leaders of note were slain. The body of Viswās Rao was found and identified, but some slight doubt remained as to the correctness of the identification of the head and trunk said to be those of the Bhāo. Sindia and Holkar both escaped, as did the Brahman, famous in after years as Nānā Farnavis. The losses were reported to the Pēshwā in enigmatical language easily interpreted :

'Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up.'

The casualties on the side of the victors are not recorded.

Causes of the Marāthā defeat. Ahmad Shāh had won by patient, skilled generalship. The Bhāo had lost by reason of blind pride and obstinacy. He trusted in his guns and disciplined infantry, scornfully rejecting the wise words of the chiefs who counselled him to fight in the old and well-tried Marāthā fashion, and to free himself from the encumbrance of guns and followers. His fate was determined from the moment when he shut himself up in his lines with a multitude whom he could not feed.

The Shāh's ambition baulked. The Shāh had planned his ably conducted campaign with the purpose of seizing the empire of Hindostan. His ambition was baulked, as that of Alexander had been long before, by the mutiny of his soldiers. The Durrānis mutinied in a body and passed completely out of his control, demanding payment of their arrears for two years past and immediate return to Kābul. Ahmad Shāh was powerless against such opposition and had to go home. Shujāu-d daula, the Nawāb of Oudh, who had taken no active part in the battle, although

¹ Battles of Pānīpat : (1) Bābur and Ibrāhīm Lodi, 1526 ; (2) Akbar and Hēmū, 1556 ; (3) Ahmad Shāh and Marāthās, 1761.

nominally on the side of the Shāh, also slipped away to his own dominions.

Effects of the battle in India. The effects of the battle on the political state of India are well summarized by Elphinstone, who observes that 'the history of the Mogul empire here closes of itself', and states that

'never was a defeat more complete, and never was there a calamity that diffused so much consternation. Grief and despondency spread over the whole Maratta people; most had to mourn relations, and all felt the destruction of the army as a death-blow to their national greatness. The pēshwā never recovered the shock. He slowly retreated from his frontier towards Pūna, and died in a temple which he had himself erected near that city. The wreck of the army retired beyond the Nerbadda, evacuating almost all their acquisitions in Hindostan. Dissensions soon broke out after the death of Bālāji, and the government of the pēshwā never recovered its vigour. Most of the Maratta conquests were recovered at a subsequent period; but it was by independent chiefs, with the aid of European officers and disciplined sepoys. The confederacy of the Maratta princes dissolved on the cessation of their common danger.'

Causes of decline of Mogul empire. The Mogul empire, like all Asiatic despotisms, had shallow roots. Its existence depended mainly on the personal character of the reigning autocrat and on the degree of his military power. It lacked popular support, the strength based upon patriotic feeling, and the stability founded upon ancient tradition; nor were there any permanent institutions to steady the top-heavy structure. Akbar, the real founder of the empire, was a man truly great, notwithstanding his frailties, and during his long personal reign of forty-five years (1560-1605) was able to build up an organization strong enough to survive twenty-two years of Jahāngīr's feebler rule. Shāhjahān, a stern, ruthless man, kept a firm hand on the reins for thirty years, and was followed by Aurangzēb, who maintained the system more or less in working order for almost fifty years longer. Thus, for a century and a half, from 1560 to 1707, the empire was preserved by a succession of four sovereigns, the length of whose reigns averaged thirty-four years, a very unusual combination. Even Jahāngīr, the weakest of the four, was no fool. The three others were men of unusual ability.

Akbar's exceptional gifts made him a most successful general as against Asiatic foes, and enabled him to construct a military machine much superior to anything of the kind possessed by other Indian states. That machine failed in the time of Shāhjahān when used against the Persians, but was still good enough to keep India fairly quiet during the first half of Aurangzēb's reign. The mechanism thenceforward steadily deteriorated. The last of the Great Moguls attained an age far beyond the limit of efficiency; his sons, benumbed by the crushing weight of parental control, lost all capacity for government; excessive luxury enervated the nobles, and gradually brought the army to the condition of a helpless mob. Then the hardy, frugal Marāthās pricked the bubble, and proved by experiment the worthlessness of the

glittering imperial host. The long absence of Aurangzēb in the Deccan undermined the foundations of government, which degenerated in every department. Lack of control engendered oppression; and oppression begat poverty, entailing financial ruin, which was intensified by reckless spending and the lack of honest administration. The powerful Hindu support of the throne, won so cleverly by Akbar, was weakened by the erroneous policy of Shāhjahān and, in still greater degree, by the austere fanaticism of Aurangzēb. The prolonged anarchy involved in the repeated wars of succession was a potent influence in bringing about the ruin of the imperial fabric. Long before Aurangzēb's death the military power of the state had become contemptible, and the authority of the emperor could be defied with impunity. When the breath left his body no man remained in India who was fit to take the helm of the ship of state, which soon drifted on the rocks. The collapse of the empire came with a suddenness which at first sight may seem surprising. But the student who has acquired even a moderately sound knowledge of the history will be surprised that the empire lasted so long rather than because it collapsed suddenly.

It would be easy to expand such observations, and to indicate other causes, as, for example, the neglect of sea-power, which contributed to the ruin of the Mogul empire; but it is needless to work out the theme in further detail. Every attentive reader of the story can fill in the outline in his own fashion.

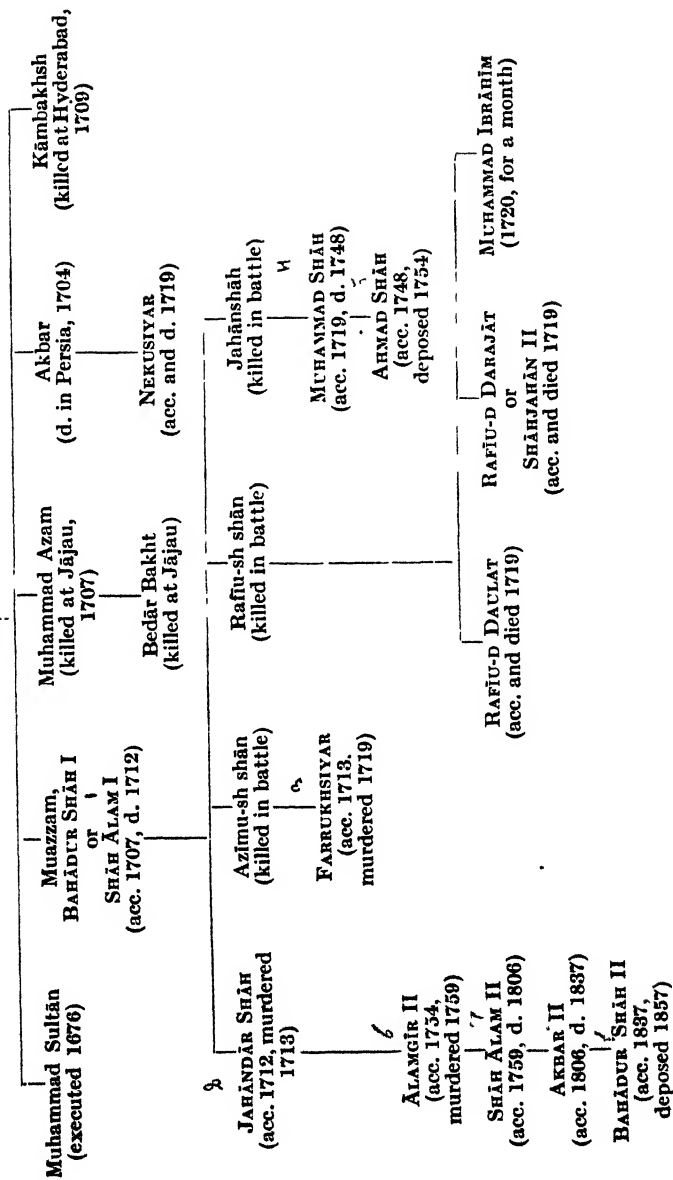
Revolution between 1756 and 1761. In 1715-17, when we last had occasion to notice the affairs of the East India Company, the mercantile representatives of the Company in Calcutta were content to devote their energies exclusively to trade and to avoid meddling with Indian politics or wars. They were then in no wise ashamed to send merchants bearing costly gifts in order to beg or buy commercial favours from the degraded wretch who polluted the throne of Aurangzēb. Until the catastrophe of 1756 they adhered to that humble policy. But during the short space of time which intervened between June 1756 and the tragedy of Pānīpat in January 1761 a marvellous change was wrought in the English position both in Bengal and in the peninsula. The conflicts in the south between the English and the French, in which each side was supported by Indian allies, began in 1746 with the loss of Madras and ended on January 6, 1761, a week before the battle of Pānīpat, with the unconditional surrender to British arms of Pondicherry, the chief French settlement. The events in Bengal were still more startling and fateful. The traders who fled in terror to Fulta in June 1756 were the masters of a rich kingdom exactly twelve months later.

The story of those memorable events and the connected happenings, which cannot be conveniently interwoven with the narrative of Mogul and Marāthā affairs, will be told in the chapters following.

Note.—Authorities differ concerning the date of the battle of Pānīpat. Grant Duff gives January 6; Cāsi Rājā, January 7; and Ibrāhīm Khan, Jamādi II, 6, A. H. 1174, equated with January 12 (*E. & D.*, viii. 151 note); but the true equivalent is Tuesday, January 13, which Irvine rightly gives in *I. G.* (1907), ii. 411.

The Later Moguls (principal names only)

AURANGZĒB ĀLAMGĪR



LEADING DATES

Death of Aurangzēb	February 21 (o.s.), 1707
Battle of Jājau ; defeat of Azam ; accession of Bahādur Shāh	June 1707
Defeat and death of Kāmbakhsh	January 1709
Sikh rebellion	1710
Death of Bahādur Shāh ; war of succession	1712
Accession of Farrukhsiyar	1713
Bālājī Visvanāth Pēshwā	1714
Execution of Bandah ; mission from E. I. Co.	1715
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Sack of Delhi by Ahmad Shāh Durrāni	1756
Temporary occupation of Panjāb by the Marāthās	1758
Third battle of Pānīpat ; Mādho Rāo Pēshwā	1761

NOTE.—The events connected with the French and English settlements are treated separately.

AUTHORITIES

ELPHINSTONE enters into much detail. His narrative is based on the *Siyar-i Mutākhirīn* ; KHĀFI KHĀN's history, now to be read in *E. & D.*, vol. vii ; GRANT DUFF's *History of the Mahrattas* ; and some few other books. A mass of minute and usually accurate information will be found in IRVINE's articles in *J. A. S. B.*, part 1, for 1894, 1896, 1898, which are extracts from his unfinished book, designed to give the history in full from 1707 to 1803. He supplies references to all original authorities, printed and manuscript. The leading original authority for the battle of Pānīpat and connected events is the lucid narrative of Kāsi (Casi) Rājā Pundit, translated from the Persian and published in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii, 1799.¹ The plan of the battle is his. The history of the Sikhs may be studied in CUNNINGHAM, *History of the Sikhs* (1849 and 1853), or compendiously in LEPEL GRIFFIN, *Ranjit Singh* (Rulers of India, 1898), an excellent little book. Several other works on the subject exist. The extensive treatise by MACAULIFFE, entitled *The Sikh Religion* (6 volumes, Oxford, 1909), is the only authoritative detailed account of the religion and scriptures of the sect. Among numerous secondary authorities for the period generally the works by H. G. KEENE and SIDNEY OWEN, both entitled *The Fall of the Mogul Empire*, may be mentioned. It is out of the question to give a list at all exhaustive.

¹ The translator and editor, as Grant Duff mentions (*Hist.*, ii. 149 n., ed. 1826), was Mr. James Browne. He was Resident at Delhi from 1782 to 1785, and published a volume entitled *India Tracts in 1788* (*Dict. Ind. Biogr.*, corrected). The book includes an account of the Sikhs, probably the earliest in English. Nānā Farnavis gives a short description of the battle in the autobiographical fragment translated by Briggs in *Trans. R. A. S.*, 1829, vol. ii, part i. On the Marāthā side 'confusion prevailed in every direction'.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ci., city; *co.*, country; *k.*, king; *km.*, kingdom; *r.*, river; *t.*, town; *vi.*, village.

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